THE SAFETY of FRANCE

TO

Monsieur the *Dauphin.*

OR THE

SECRET HISTORY

OF

The French King.

PROVING

To his Son that there is no other way to secure *France* from approaching Ruin, but by Deposing his Father for a Tyrant and Destroyer of his People.

Done into *English* from the Second Edition of the *French* Original printed in *Holland.*

Licens'd and Entred according to Order.

London, Printed for *Tho. Salusbury* at the Sign of the *Temple* near *Temple Bar* in *Fleetstreet.* 1690.

Dartmouth

THE SAFETY of FRANCE TO Monſieur the *Dauphin.*

The firſt Diſcourſe.

SIR,

YOU muſt of neceſſity be a very great Stoick, if you are not very much alarum'd. All the World is Calculating your Nativity, and they boldly affirm that you ſhall never be a King; and that this next Campaign you ſhall ſee moſt terrible Preludes of the Misfortunes which are to befal ye.

I muſt acknowledge it is a difficult thing to penetrate into Futurity. Nor have all thoſe who have made it

their buſineſs to propheſie in this Age, had the ſatisfaction to ſee their Propheſies accompliſh'd. But there are many Things which men may foretel without being Prophets; and the future Diminution of your Glory is an Event ſo viſible, as that it may be eaſily foreſeen, without Revelation, or conſulting the Stars.

Conſidering the preſent Condition of Affairs, *France* muſt of neceſſity ſink, if her Enemies act by joynt conſent, and that they continue to take the ſame Meaſures which they have already taken ſince the Prince of *Orange* aſcended the Throne of *England*.

Never flatter your ſelf, Sir, for how Potent ſoever *France* may be, ſhe cannot but ſee both the Backſtroke and Foreſtroke that threatens her, if ſhe does not betake herſelf to ſome ſpeedy and extraordinary Remedy. All *Europe* is up in Arms againſt her, and her Enemies are ſo much the more Formidable, becauſe they only fight to be reveng'd upon her for the infinite number of bloody Outrages which ſhe has done them, with all manner of Injuſtice, and to break thoſe Chains

and

and Fetters which ſhe would put about their Necks.

I need not here make uſe of any great force of Rhetorick to convince you, that *France* is now no more the ſame that formerly ſhe was. You ſee it with your own Eyes. Her Trade, which is as it were the Soul of a Kingdom, is utterly ruin'd, ever ſince the departure of the Proteſtants. For that not being able to vent her Native Commodities into Foreign Countries, Poverty increaſes every where. To fill her *Exchequer*, ſhe muſt have recourſe to unuſual and violent means, and thereby compleat the utter Exhauſting of the Peoples purſes. 'Tis true, her Armies are very numerous; but beſides that, the Souldiers of which they conſiſt, are not all of them experienc'd, as being for the moſt part new rais'd Men: Beſides that, there are infinite Numbers which deſert her Service, either becauſe they are expos'd to overhard and tedious Duty, or elſe becauſe they were liſted againſt their Wills. Certain it is, that they have been ſo accuſtom'd, for ſome years paſt, to vanquiſh Enemies that were

not in a condition to withſtand them, that they are now no longer fit for any thing elſe but to make new Converts, or to be employed in burning of Towns and Cities. You have ſeen ſomething in the Campaign wherein your ſelf commanded, and at the Sieges of *Mayence* and *Bon*.

The Peace which ſhe concluded not long ſince with the *Algerines*, is an evident ſign that ſhe knows not where ſhe is. For you cannot deny, but that if ſhe thought her ſelf ſtrong enough to repel her Enemies, or to make the leaſt Reſiſtance, ſhe would never have purchas'd, upon ſuch ignominious Conditions, an Alliance with a barbarous People, who are the Scorn of all the Earth, and from whom ſhe has receiv'd thoſe Affronts that ſhe ought never to have pardon'd.

In a word, Sir, for you may delude your ſelf, with all her Forces both by Sea and Land, with all her Alliances with the *Grand Seignior* and the *Algerines*, with all her Preparations and her Threatnings, is at this day only upon the Defenſive part; ſhe that formerly ſo vigorouſly aſſail'd others. And you can-

not but acknowledge, that ſince the Siege of *Philipsbourgh*, where you ſignaliz'd your ſelf in a manner ſo diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, has all along gone down the Hill, which is no good Omen.

What would you have me ſay to yee, conſidering the condition of Affairs? I muſt, in ſpite of my Teeth, foretel you diſmal Things; and if you will but reflect upon them, you will tell your ſelf the ſame. You cannot be ignorant of the danger to which an imprudent Policy has expos'd ſo great a Kingdom, which gave Laws to all *Europe*; and in the mean time you will do well to rid your ſelf of thoſe treacherous and mercinary Souls which put it into your Head, that *Lewis the Great* is the greateſt Prince that ever was, and that he ſhall triumph, with eaſe, over the moſt powerful and ſtrongeſt League that ever was form'd againſt a Monarch.

If you were a Prince but of ordinary Merit, or that you could not ſee with your own Eyes, we might content our ſelves with lamenting your Misfortunes, when we came to caſt

an Eye upon your future Deſtiny. But conſidering the ſurmounting Parts and Qualities which you have receiv'd from Heaven, you will be unpitied by all People, if the Arms of the Confederates ſhould ſubdue the Monarchy of *France*, and reduce you, after their Conqueſt, to a private Life. For you muſt agree to this, that you your ſelf were acceſſary to your own Misfortune.

Therefore, Sir, open your Eyes at once: *France* is upon the brink of a Precipice, from whence ſhe will never be able to ſave herſelf, if once ſhe happen to fall. Suffer not your Mind to be inchanted, nor liſten to your Flatterers. The Condition of *France* is a thouſand times more deplorable than can be expreſſed by all the Aggravations we can make uſe of. Nevertheleſs, her Diſtemper is not altogether incurable; you may apply a remedy to it ſtill. However, Sir, deceive not your ſelf; for deſperate Diſeaſes, muſt have deſperate Cures.

I confeſs it were to be wiſh'd that the King would make a Peace with all the Princes that are engaged in Arms

Arms againſt him, could he but make them ſatisfaction for all the Ravage and Spoil which he has committed in their Countries: but this is a way not to be put in practiſe. For beſides that, there is not any State that will be willing to treat with a Prince, who believes that Policy permits him never to keep his Word, and who, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, has committed unheard of Hoſtilities in the Territories of all his Neighbours; What likelyhood is there that a King, who aſpired to Univerſal Monarchy, who has extended his Conqueſts every way, and who never condeſcended to a Peace, but what was advantageous to him, will renounce all at once ſuch great pretenſions, and reſtore back all that he has ſo uſurp'd?

Certainly the King can never take ſuch a courſe, as would abſolutely tarniſh all his Glory, and render him the moſt contemptible of all the Princes of the World. For, Sir, he muſt not think to flatter himſelf in this matter; the Confederates will never yield to an Accommodation, unleſs they make the Conditions themſelves; and you well know, that the Law

which the ſtrongeſt ſide preſcribes, is always that which muſt be obeyed. He muſt reſtore to the Emperor, and the Princes of *Germany* all that he has conquered from them, ever ſince he aſcended his Throne; and he muſt alſo ſacrifice to his Imperial Majeſty the *Cardinal* of *Furſtembergh*, to be puniſht after a moſt exemplary manner, for all his Treaſons and perfidious Dealings. He muſt make the ſame Reſtitutions to the Moſt *Catholic King*, the *King* of *Great Britain*, and the Duke of *Lorrain*. He muſt demoliſh the Forts and Cittadels which he has built upon the Frontiers of the *Switzers*. He muſt reſtore *Pignerol*, and *Caſal*. He muſt reſtore to his *Holineſs* the Franchiſes, Regal Right, and other Priviledges of that nature, which he diſputed ſo haughtily and violently with his Predeceſſor, *Innocent* the XI. He muſt humble himſelf before *Prince Joſeph Clement* of *Bavaria*. He muſt make Satisfaction to the United Provinces for an infinite number of Veſſels which he has ſeiz'd within his Ports, in time of Peace, and which his Privateers have taken. He muſt reimburſe

reimburſe the *Genoeſes* immenſe Sums of Money, which they have been, and are ſtill obliged to expend in rebuilding the ſumptuous Palace which he thunder'd down, when he threw his Bombs into their Magnificent City. And You yourſelf muſt go in Perſon, and throw yourſelf at the Feet of their Duke, to make him Reparation for the * *Amen de Honarable*, which he was obliged to undergo, after your Father had treated the *Genoeſes* like ſo many Barbarians, and that upon a vain and ridiculous pretence. It would become him alſo to make an Alliance with the King of *England*, *William* III. whom he looks upon as an Uſurper, and whom he has treated hitherto with a more than ordinary contempt. And in regard, that becauſe there is a great Vacuity in his Exchequer, which is more and more exhauſted every day, that he would not be rich enough to rebuild ſo many Cities, Towns, and

* *A moſt ignominious Puniſhment inflicted upon an extream Offender, who muſt go through the Streets barefoot and bareheaded, with a burning Link in his Hand, to the Seat of Juſtice, and there confeſs his Offences, and ask Forgiveneſs of the Party wrong'd.*

Caſtles, which he has burnt in *Germany*, more eſpecially in the Territories of the *Elector Palatine*, it would become him, that to appeaſe the Princes intereſted, he ſhould burn his own Capital City; or at leaſt his Caſtles of *Verſailles* and *St. Germain*. It would behove him to recal the Proteſtants whom he has conſtrained to quit their Eſtates and their Country, by exerciſing upon them the moſt unjuſt and moſt unheard of Perſecutions; to rebuild all their Churches, and to confirm the Edicts of the Pacification granted by *Henry* the Fourth: For why ſhould the Proteſtants be left out, if he makes a General Peace. And that I may not enter into a longer Diſplay of his Pranks, it would behove him for the Security as well of thoſe without, as thoſe within, to ſend into *Holland*, or into *England*, Monſieur the Duke of *Burgundy*, or ſome other of his Children; for we would willingly call back thoſe Ages, wherein they never made any Treaty, but the Prince to whom the Peace was accorded, gave not only Hoſtages, but Hoſtages of his own Blood.

Never

Never queſtion it, all theſe Things muſt be done; the Confederates will not bate him an Ace: they will every one have a Fleece from his back; and if you ſeriouſly conſider it, 'tis no more than what you muſt confeſs to be but juſt and reaſonable.

So then, Sir, you muſt agree with me in this, that the King cannot accept of Peace, thô it ſhould be offer'd him; becauſe he will never accept upon mean and prejudicial Conditions.

What will Poſterity ſay of *Lewis* the *Great*, if after ſuch an Enlargement of Conqueſt every way, and if after having been ſo near being Maſter of all *Chriſtendom*, he ſhould voluntarily confine himſelf within the Bounds of the *French* Monarchy, rather than continue a War which he firſt kindled himſelf? If after his having made *France* all Roman Catholic, and having thereby gain'd an Honour to which his Predeceſſors in vain aſpir'd, he ſhould be forc'd to build Calviniſtical Churches, and ſet forth Declarations in favour of Hereſie? he would be lookt upon as the moſt pitiful and contemptible

ptible of Princes. And indeed if he ſhould condeſcend to ſully his glorious and renowned Atchievements by a condeſcenſion ſo mean and poor, I muſt appeal to you, Sir, what Thoughts would you your ſelf have of him?

Nevertheleſs, in regard there is no other way, but by the means of a Peace for *France* to divert the threatning Tempeſt, there is no body but your ſelf that can make it, if you intend to preſerve the Honour of *France*. For beſides that, the Confederates, who at preſent breath nothing but fire and ſlaughter, will deal more mildly and civilly with you, than with a Prince that aſpired only to enſlave them, and made a War with them after a manner unheard of among Chriſtians. Beſides that, both the one and the other are weary of ſeeing ſo much blood ſhed, and ſuch waſts of their own and their Peoples Treaſure, moſt certain it is, that which way ſoever Fortune wheels, and how hard ſoever the Clauſes may be, to which you you ſhall be obliged to ſubſcribe, all the World will admire yee. For in a word, as you have not contributed at all to the Misfortunes that threaten

threaten *France*, and in regard there is not any Prince in *Europe* that is ignorant how much you have bewail'd the villanous Courſes and falſe Meaſures that have been taken in the Kingdom, they will look upon you as a wiſe Prince, who has rather choſe the ſure way, than to hazard a Crown. Sir, you may yield to all things, and reſtore to every one that which belongs to him, without having your Honour any may intereſted in ſuch a Condeſcenſion, in regard it was not you that were guilty of the Uſurpations.

And without any Injury to the Religion which you profeſs, you may renew the Edicts which give a Toleration to the Proteſtants, in regard it is a Prerogative inſeparable from Royalty, to overturn, ſo ſoon as they come to the Throne, whatever their Predeceſſors have done; it being no more but what all Princes, even Popes themſelves, tho' it be their Intereſt to perſwade the whole World that St. *Peter*'s Succeſſors are no leſs infallible in all their Actions, than was the Prince of the Apoſtles.

I well know, Sir, what Anſwer you will

will make me. You will ſay, You are not yet inveſted with the Royal Authority; and that according to all Appearance, not being likely long to be ſo, it is in vain for me to propoſe a fruitleſs Expedient, that cannot be put in Execution.

I confeſs, Sir, that you are not yet King; and that you are alſo far from being ſo. For that, if we may judge according to probabilities, notwithſtanding the great Maladies which afflict *Lewis* the Great, he may live perhaps, as long as you; beſides that, it will always be the intereſt of thoſe that are prevalent with him, cunningly to inſinuate, as they do, that your Marriage with a Princeſs of *Bavaria*, muſt render you continually ſuſpected; and that you are otherwiſe unfit for any thing elſe, but either for a Maſquerade, or to hunt the Wolf. Now after theſe conſiderations, you will never be in a condition to make that happy Peace which *France* ſo paſſionately deſires: You will be in danger of dying a Subject, and of being the Son and Father of a King, yet never come to the Crown your ſelf, as ſome of your falſe Prieſts have foretold

told. Then again, they who by their unhappy Counſels have reduced *France* to that deplorable Condition wherein it is at preſent, are your moſt cruel Enemies. For in regard they enrich themſelves by the publick Diſorders, and very well underſtand that only you, who have the Helm in your Hand, are able to ſtruggle with the Tempeſt, they make the King believe you to be a perſon unfit for the Government, as being a Prince without ſenſe, and enſlav'd to his pleaſures; and if I may venture to ſay ſo, a weak and ſilly Prince, under pretence that you believ'd it to be a great piece of Policy to diſſemble hitherto, and act the part of that illuſtrious *Roman*, who expell'd the *Tarquins* out of *Rome*.

Nevertheleſs, Sir, however it be, the Propoſition which I now make you, is no ſuch difficulty not to be ſurmounted. It will be your fault if you are not King in deſpite of all your Enemies, if you ardently deſire it: nor is it neceſſary for you to ſtay till the death of a Prince, who, conſidering his conſtitution, is not yet in a condition to dye. You have lain cloſe a ſufficient time,

time, it behoves yee now to diſcover your ſelf, and that appearing in your Natural Colours, you ſhould let *Lewis* the XIV. ſee, that you are a Prince who deſerves to bear the Name of *Bourbon*; and that it is not to no purpoſe that you have been educated in ſo many ſeveral ſorts of Sciences; and that Policy is not the only Thing of which you are ignorant, tho' you never made it your buſineſs, becauſe you would not give Occaſion of Suſpicion. It behoves yee to ſet to work that Eloquence, which they ſay is ſo natural to yee; and that you unhoodwink your Father's Eyes, by laying before him the ſtrength of his Enemies, the weakneſs of his Armies, the conſternation of his People, the fears of Domeſtick Inſurrections, and leaſt the Troops of the Confederates ſhould pour into his Kingdom, to the end he may agree with you, that there is no other way but by a Peace to ſhelter himſelf from the Storm; and therefore ſince he cannot obtain it himſelf, but upon Conditions that will be altogether diſhonourable to a Prince that has been hitherto eſteemed the Greateſt of his Age, that it is

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abſolutely neceſſary for him to abdicate the Government for your ſake, and that he ſhould go and end his days in Retirement, ſince he cannot attain his Ends of mounting the Throne of *Charlemaine.*

Not, Sir, but that you have your Creatures at Court; not but that Madam the *Dauphineſs,* who is a Lady of exquiſite Abilities, has already made herſelf Miſtreſs of the Hearts and Affections of thoſe Ladies which at preſent Rule the King; and not but that your Father's Favourites and Governors have given you ſeveral Teſtimonies of their being devoted to your Intereſts: they have been too cunning to omit the performance of thoſe Ceremonies. You muſt therefore make uſe of them at this time, and abſolutely fix both the one and the other to your Intereſts, by flattering them with great Hopes and Expectations, as it is eaſie for you to do, to the end they may act by conſent in advancing you to the Throne.

Believe me, Sir, if you would but ſpeak ſeriouſly and boldly to the King, yet obſerving the Limits of reſpect and

duty

duty to a King and Father; and if on the other ſide, his Favourites, Miſtreſſes, and Governors of his Conſcience, would but ſlily and cunningly inſinuate into his Breaſt, that he cannot ſave his Kingdom, ſupport his Reputation and Honour, and gain Paradiſe, unleſs he take this only Courſe, you will ſtagger him without queſtion; and rather than hazard the Fate with which the Princes of *Europe* threaten *Bajezet*, he will rather chooſe of his own accord to ſhut himſelf up in a Deſert, there to do Penance the remainder of his Life, for the Crimes of his Proſperity.

'Tis a violent choice, I muſt confeſs, and I make no queſtion, the King believes himſelf to be in no great haſte as yet to lament his ſins. But what is that to the purpoſe, Sir; You know very well, Sir, that of two Evils the leaſt is to be choſen. The Crown which he abandons is not worth the *Riſco* which he runs. And ſince after all, it would be better for him to do it voluntarily, than to be obliged by conſtraint and force, as it befel *Alphonſo* King of *Naples*, who ſeeing *Charles* the VIII. come thundring down into his *Kingdom*, caus'd his Son

Ferdinand

Ferdinand to be Crown'd, and retired into *Scicily* for Security.

This *Alphonſo*, whoſe Life was written by the Famous Hiſtorian *Philip Commines*, and ſo often read by *Charles the Fifth*, had contaminated his Reign with a Thouſand Crimes: He had exercis'd an infinite number of Cruelties; he had put to death his neareſt Kindred and Relations; he had raviſh'd the Wives of his Subjects, and reduced his People to utmoſt Beggery. But this Reſignation of his Crown to his Son, was the means which God made uſe of for his Converſion: For having confin'd himſelf in a kind of Solitude, and there conforming himſelf to the Rules of the *Monks* of *Mount Olivet*, he liv'd as holy a Life as if he had been one of the *Order*.

Let not the *King* ſtay, till an Extremity of this Nature overtake him, leaſt it ſhould utterly deface the Luſtre of all his great Actions. For in regard his Life has been ſo conformable to that of the King of *Naples*, he may as well follow the Example of his Cowardly Fear, and try to ſeek ſome Sanctuary within the Ottoman Empire, ſo ſoon

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as he ſhall ſee the Imperial *Leopold*, or the King of *Great Britain* ready to pour in upon him. Let him do that voluntarily, which *Alphonſo* was forc'd to do, and let him leave you a Crown, for which you will have no reaſon to contend with the Enemies of *France*, as the young *Ferdinand* was conſtrain'd to contend for his with *Charles* the VIII. For perhaps the ſame Fate may attend you as befel that Prince, whom *Charles* continually purſued till he had totally vanquiſh'd, and expell'd him out of his Territories.

Therefore let him never ſtudy upon it, but reſign the Government into your hands without any more ado, ſince he cannot do a thing more to his Advantage; more eſpecially ſince there are ſo many Preſidents to encourage him to an Act ſo Heroick, and proceeding altogether from accompliſh'd Policy.

Nerva, who was elected Emperour after the death of *Domitian*, reſigned the Empire to *Trajan* ſo ſoon as he found himſelf incapable to govern, by reaſon of his Infirmities and his Age. You know the Hiſtory of *Dioclesian*.

That Emperour, who according to the

the Teſtimony of all thoſe that have wrote his Hiſtory, was only born for Government and War; that Emperour, of whom it is ſaid, that the *Roman* Arms were ne're in ſuch a flouriſhing condition as under his Empire; that Emperour, who ſubdu'd where e're he came, who had vanquiſh'd ſeveral Tyrants, and to whom ſeveral Trophies had been erected, *for having extended the Roman Empire both to the Eaſt and Weſt; and for having rooted out the Name of Chriſtians from the Earth.* This Emperour nevertheleſs, in the midſt of his Triumphs and Victories, reſigned the Empire to *Galerius*; and the Ceremony of that Reſignation was publickly perform'd three Miles from the City of *Nicomedia*, where after he had randevouz'd his Army together, addreſſing his Speech to his Souldiers, he told them, *That being become infirm, he was reſolved to retire to a Life of Repoſe, after ſo many Labours and Travels which he had been conſtrain'd to undergo; to which purpoſe he would ſurrender the Empire into the hands of ſuch Perſons as were able to bear the weight of it.* And having ſo ſaid, he named *Galerius* for his Succeſſor, and

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preſently inveſted him with his own Purple Robes: And ſo reſuming his true Name of *Diocles*, which he had chang'd for that of *Diocleſian*, he retir'd like a common Souldier that has receiv'd his diſcharge from Service, and lead a private Life for ſeveral Years. He made choice of *Satorrica* for his Retirement, and found ſo much pleaſure in Solitude, that all Charms of pleaſure could never tempt him forth again: at what time he alſo proteſted, That he never taſted the True Pleaſures of Life, nor ſaw the Sun ſhine with ſo much delight, as ſince he reſign'd the Empire.

Now would not the King of *France* be happy to end the remainder of his days, as the ſame Emperour did. Let him reſt from his Labours, ſeeing that conſidering the Condition to which he has reduced *France*, it is not poſſible he ſhould reduce any real Repoſe. Let him like another *Atlas* eaſe his Shoulders of a Burden which he is no longer able to bear, and ſet it upon yours. It is high time you ſhould Reign for the general good and ſafety of the People, ſeeing that ſo long as

Lewis

Lewis rules, his Reign muſt prove fatal to the People. Let him imitate *Diocleſian* in this generous Action, who has followed his Example in many other things.

Lothaire the I. the Son of *Lewis* the *Debonnair*, is another *Preſident* which I cannot paſs by in ſilence: This Ambitious Prince whom nothing would ſerve, but to dethrone his Father, thô he had made him his Companion in the Empire, being advanced to the Throne, after the death of the Emperor, and having undergone an infinite number of Hardſhips, parted his Territories between his Children, and taking a Religious Habit in the Abby of *Prume*, near *Treves*, dy'd in a ſhort time after.

But why ſhould I ſearch for Examples in Ages ſo far remote, for to ſhew that ſuch a Reſignation is no Diſhonour to a Prince, we have a Decent Example to produce.

Chriſtina Queen of *Sweden*, ſucceeded *Guſtavus Adolphus* in the Year 1633: This Princeſs govern'd her Territories very happily; and being deſcended from the Blood of the Great *Guſtavus*, ſhe

ſhe was formidable to her Enemies; beſides that ſhe was diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt of her Sex by an infinite number of Noble Endowments, which render'd her the Admiration of the World: Other Kingdoms envied the Happineſs of *Sweden*: for in ſhort, a Kingdom cannot chuſe but be happy, when govern'd by Princes that are Philoſophers, or Philoſophers that are Princes, according to the Opinion of one of the Ancients: Nevertheleſs this Queen, as happy and glorious as ſhe was, reſign'd her Crown and Scepter in the Year 1654, to *Charles Guſtavus*. The Grandees of the Court, and all her Subjects were much troubled at her Abdication, and endeavoured to diſſwade her from it; but all their perſwaſions were in vain. She ſummon'd an Aſſembly of her Eſtates, where were preſent all the Nobility, and all the Forreign Miniſters. There the Chief Miniſter inveſted her with her Royal Robes, and ſet the Crown upon her Head. After which, ſhe ſate a while upon her Throne with her Scepter in her Right Hand, and the Golden Ball in her Left Hand. All this, for no other

other purpoſe, but to be immediately Diſrob'd again, and to ſurrender the Enſigns of her Royal Authority to her Succeſſor.

Caſimir the V. who after the death of *Ladiſlaus*, his Brother, was Elected King of *Poland*, was no leſs happy, during his Reign, than *Chriſtina* during hers. He was no ſooner ſettl'd in his Throne, but he became the Terrour of his Enemies: And to ſpeak all his Actions in a word, this Prince had been a Victor in no leſs than ſeventeen or eighteen Battels, where he was preſent in perſon. Neverthleſs, what does *Caſimir* do in the midſt of all his Triumphs? Over-burthen'd with the weight of his Scepter, and ſo many Lawrel-Wreaths wherewith he had encircled his Brows; tir'd with the Glorious Travels which had rendred him the braveſt Prince of his Age; weari'd with continual Conqueſt, and ſhedding ſo much Blood; and laſtly, looking upon all the Victories which he could expect to win, as not able to repair the loſs of his beloved Queen, he voluntarily reſign'd his Crown, and ended his days in a Monaſtery.

Are not these great Examples, Sir, sufficient to move ye? And if you were in *Lewis* the Fourteenth's Condition, would you make any difficulty to follow them? A *Heroeß*, of an exalted Descent, whom *France* admired, and treated like a Queen, after she had renounc'd her Royal Authority, and whom the Popes themselves esteemed as the *Palladium* of *Rome*. A *Hero*, that sacrificed all his worldly Pomp, to lead a Religious Life, and whom the King himself honour'd with one of the most wealthy and famousest Abbies of his Kingdom. In a word, a Queen and a King whose Retirement was the greatest Elogies that was given them by all that made their Panegyricks. This incomparable Princess, and this Prince most worthy to be Sainted, think ye, they will not mollifie the King's Heart, when he reflects upon the many Misfortunes that threaten both His and Your Head, if he continues to Reign Six Months longer. Let him then cease to be a King, if he intends to die a King, and avert from *France* the most terrible *Catastrophe* that ever befel her since the Reign of *Pharamund*. They

They may tell us, till Dooms-day, that it was the love of Liberty which inclin'd Q. *Chriſtina* to that ſurprizing Change. And that *Caſimir*, as great as he was, being before a Jeſuit, had contracted in that Order, a certain Spice of Phanaticiſm, which is the principle Character of the Diſciples of *Loyola*, who was the greateſt *Phanatick* that ever appeared in the World. 'Tis true, I knew a certain * Prince, who was accuſtomed to ſay, That among the Fools of that Age, one of the greateſt was *Caſimir*. Neither was *Chriſtina* accompted the wiſeſt Woman in the world. Every thing is folly, Sir, when they are taken in a wrong ſenſe. But that which appears to be folly, is many times a great piece of Wiſdom, when the thing comes to be examined. *Moſes* was lookt upon as a Fool by the *Egyptians*, when he forſook the *Egyptian* Court, and trampled under foot the

* *The Deceaſed Prince of* Conde *was uſed to ſay, That he was acquainted with Three Illuſtrious Fools; the* D. *of* Vernuel *who had quitted an Eſtate of* 600000 *Livers a year for a Wife. Monſieur* Turenne, *who had taken the Holy Ghoſt out of his Heart, to wear him upon his Coat; and* K. Caſimir *who had quitted a Crown to turn Monk.*

Crown which was design'd him by the Daughter of *Pharaoh*. And yet where was ever a wiser man in the World, than that same *Hebrew Legislator*? Who ever read the Heart of Queen *Christina* to know so well her Inclinations? And as for King *Casimir*, tho' he were a *Jesuit*, are all the *Jesuits* Visionaries. *Christina*, even to the last gasp, gave authentick Marks, that she was in good earnest when she forsook *Lutheranism*, to embrace the Popes Religion; and *Casimir* dyed like a Saint in the observance of the Discipline and Constitutions of his Order. Why therefore must Religion be deny'd to have a share in their Changes, or why may it not be thought to be an Effect of triumphing Grace?

But to set Religion aside; it cannot be denied but that there may be something of Human Prudence or Policy at least. For indeed what could a Woman have done, had she been to sustain a terrible War; if those Enemies which *Gustavus* had so often haras'd, had come to awaken her, and had design'd to have satisfaction from the Daughter for the Mischiefs and Losses which

which they had ſuffered by the Father? Muſt ſhe not have ſank under the Burthen, and run the Venter of doing that by force which ſhe did without conſtraint? And as for *Caſimir*, after he had expelled *Guſtavus*, who had made himſelf Maſter of a great part of his Territories, after he had obtained that famous Victory from the *Muſcovites* in the Year 1661. laſtly, after he had gained ſixteen or eighteen Battels, what could he expect more? There could be no Accumulation of Honour to that great Hero. He had carried on his Affairs as far as a Prince could carry them. He had ſetled his Throne, and reſtored Peace to his People. He feared nothing; and ſo himſelf the moſt happy Prince then living. Nevertheleſs, all things being ſubject to viciſcitude, and Fortune being blind, was not *Caſimir* very prudent, that he might avoid the running of any dangerous hazard, or feeling the ſmart of any back-blow, generouſly to reſign the Scepter which he ſo well deſerv'd to ſway? Thrice happy Princes who are able to make their Reflections upon Actions ſo Heroick, and accompanied with ſo

much prudence! And thrice happy *Lewis* XIV. if seeing himself upon the brink of *Ruin*, he would follow the Examples of *Christina* and *Casimir*, thereby to preserve to himself the Title of *Great*, and such a place in History, as might obscure the Lustre of the *Alexanders* and *Cæsars*. For do but observe, Sir, tho every thing should not justly foretel to the King an inevitable Declination of his Glory; tho' his Kingdom were in as soft a Peace as *Swedeland* or *Poland*, when *Christina* and *Casimir* resigned; tho' he had all the World at command; tho' he had no Enemies, but were as he was formerly, Arbitrator of Peace and War; does he not know that the most flourishing Kingdoms are subject to the greatest Revolutions; that there are certain Bounds, at which it behoves a Prince to stop; that the most settled Prosperities are liable to the severest Crosses; that it is the Glory of a Monarch that has been happy for a long time, not to dye miserable; and therefore that he ought to take all the Caution imaginable to keep the Balance of Fortune even, especially when the Scale ceases to incline most of his side.

That

That *King* of *Lydia*, who had rendred himſelf ſo famous by his Conqueſts and his Wealth, was at length vanquiſh'd by *Cyrus*; and of the moſt fortunate of Princes, in a moment became the moſt miſerable and unfortunate of Mortals. Had not *Cræſus* been dazled with the falſe Luſtre of his *Grandeur*, he would have been ſo far from laughing at *Solon*, who told him that a Prince was not to boaſt of his Proſperity, till it was impoſſible for him to be unhappy, that he would have hid himſelf in the middle of ſome Deſert, to have avoided the Ignominy of being a Slave to the King of *Perſia*, after all the World had done him Homage. Who knows but that *Chriſtina* and *Caſimir* had ſome wiſe *Solon*, to whom they liſtned more attentively, then *Cræſus* did to the wiſe man of *Greece*?

But let us ſay no more of the King of *Poland*, or the Queen of *Sweden*. The one was a Phanatick, and the other lov'd a licentious Liberty. We grant that they were not guided either by Religion or Policy. But what ſay you, Sir, or rather what can your Father object againſt the Example of

Charles the V. That great Prince, as you well know, was neither *Libertine*, nor *Visionary*; nevertheless he resigned the *Empire*, and confin'd himself in *Spain* to the Monastery of St. *Justus*, of the Order of St. *Jerome*, where he ended his days two or three years after he had liv'd like a simple Monk, he who formerly could hardly content himself with several Kingdoms which he possessed in three parts of the World.

Certainly this is such an Example as must convince his Majesty of the great necessity that there is for him to resign his Government, if he loves the Safety of his People, and be but any thing jealous of his own Glory; especially having much more reason than that Emperour. For not to dissemble with you in any thing, *Charles* the V. was a greater Prince than ever *Lewis* the XIV. He was more prosperous than he, tho' he had not always success: he was more Potent and more formidable; and at the time when he first bethought himself of retiring, beside that he was at peace in *Germany* ever after the Treaty of *Passau*, he was also at the Head of Fourscore or a Hundred thousand men,

men, being at War with only one Prince, whom he had reaſon to fear, by reaſon of the Match which he had made between *Philip* his Son, and *Mary* the Daughter and Heireſs of *Henry* the VIII.

Nevertheleſs, in the midſt of this Calm, and when he had the leaſt reaſon to fear any croſs ſtroke of Fortune, at a time when every thing proſpered with him, and that his Armies were triumphant, he ſtops in the midſt of his Career, and prudently politick, prevents, if not real Misfortunes, yet ſuch as were poſſible to happen: For who can fetter Fortune ſo, that ſhe ſhall not be able to break her Chains?

The Fate of ſo many Victors, whoſe *Exits* had prov'd ſo diſmal; the great hopes which he had of thoſe, of whom he had made choice for the management of the Empire; and the Deſire he had to ſave his Soul, by a total Renunciation of the World, made him determine of a ſuddain to reſign the Imperial Soveraignty, and one of the higheſt Degrees that a Prince could arive at in this World.

To this end he ſent for *Philip* his Son

King of *England*, to whom, in favour of his Marriage, he had bequeathed the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Scicily*, with the Dutchy of *Milan*, and having assembled together the *States* of the *Low Countries* at *Brussels*, he presently created *Philip* Soveraign of the Order of the *Golden Fleece*, and gave him the Dominion of those Provinces. A month after this Resignation, in pursuance of which, the *States* did Homage to their new Lord, and swore Fealty and Allegiance to him; the Deputies of the rest of his Territories being met at the same place, he compleated the general Resignation of all his other Territories and Signiories, as well in *Europe* as in the *New World*, and invested *Philip* in them, reserving no more for his own support, than Two hundred thousand *Ducats* a year, with some Houshold Furniture.

'Tis true that he did not at first resign the Empire to his Brother *Ferdinand*; but he had an extraordinary reason for that: For he was willing, before he abdicated the Empire, to oblige *Ferdinand* that *Philip* should be elected King of the *Romans*. But when he saw

ſaw that *Ferdinand* was reſolv'd to ſecure that Crown for his own Son, and that for a whole year together his Negotiations had prov'd fruitleſs, he determined before he left *Bruſſels*, to perfect his Deſign. So that after he had cauſed his Reſignation to be drawn up in Authentick Form, he entruſted it in the Hands of *William* of *Naſſau*, Prince of *Orange*, *Gregory Sigiſmund Hold*, Vice-Chancellour of the Empire, and *Haller* his Secretary, who under the Character of Ambaſſadors, carried it to the firſt Diet that was aſſembled, made it known to the Electors, and delivered it into the hands of *Ferdinand*, together with the Scepter and Crown, and other Enſigns of the Imperial Dignity.

I ſhall not ſay any thing of the extraordinary Honours that were paid to *Charles* the V. after he had deſpoil'd himſelf of all his Dignities, tho' it make for my purpoſe. For in ſhort, it proves that ſuch Renunciations are no ways ignominious, as the King perhaps may be induced to believe. I ſhall only obſerve, that when *Charles* departed from *Bruſſels* for *Gaunt*, in order to his paſſage into *Spain*, where he had choſen his

his Retirement, he was accompanied by the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, by the Dukes of *Lorrain* and *Parma*, and a vaſt number of other great Lords; and which is more, there were in that magnificent Train, no leſs than five crown'd Heads; *Philip* his Son, King of *Spain*, *England*, and *Naples*; *Maximilian* King of *Bohemia*; *Ferdinand*'s Son in Law; the King of *Tunis*; *Elianor* Queen Dowager of *France*; and *Marie* Queen Dowager of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, who were both Siſters.

This Funeral Attendance, if I may ſo call it, upon a Prince that was dying to the World, is a proof not to be controul'd, that his Act and Deed was approved, and lookt upon as Heroick. For you muſt agree with me in this, Sir, that he had never been treated after ſo magnificent a manner, if that Reſignation had been any ſtain to his Life, or any blot to his Reputation in Hiſtory.

Conclude then, Sir, with me, That *Lewis* the XIV. ought to follow the Example of the Great *Charles* the Firſt, by reſigning his Soveraignty to you, ſeeing that the ſame Reaſons which obliged

ged that Emperour to reſign his Empire and Kingdoms to *Ferdinand* his Brother, and *Philip* the II. his Son, oblige alſo your Father, beſides an infinite number of other Motives no leſs conſiderable. For indeed Sir, notwithſtanding the great Elogies that are every day given to the King, yet certain it is, that he is much inferiour to *Charles* the Firſt. So that if *Lewis* the XIV. reſemble that Emperour in any thing, it is in his aſpiring like him to the Univerſal Monarchy, in his exceſſive Perſecution of the Proteſtants; in his embroiling himſelf and quarrelling with the *Holy See*; in raiſing himſelf an infinite number of Enemies; and in not believing that it was the true Character of a Prince to be a ſlave to his Word. Tho' we have more to ſay of the Emperour, that he did ſometimes ſcruple to falſifie his Word, as in the Caſe of *Luther*, when he appeared before him at the *Diet* of *Worms* in the year 1521. At what time his Courtiers and Clergy-men adviſed him to follow the Example of the *Councel* of *Conſtance*, not to keep his Word with that *Arch-Heretick*, upon the Faith of which he

he had appear'd at the Diet; but *Charles* would by no means liſten to them, and then it was that he pronounced that Golden Saying, which ought to be in the Mouths of all Princes: *That if Faith of Promiſe were to be baniſh'd out of the World, the Palaces of Princes ought to give it Sanctuary:* But, Sir, ſetting aſide what I have inſtanced, there is no Compariſon between theſe two Princes; at leaſt you will agree with me, that *Charles* the V. was the moſt happy and proſperous.

When *Charles* the Fifth was Elected Emperor after the death of *Maximilian* his Grandfather, he had for his Competitor *Francis* I. King of *France*, who having long deſign'd to add the Imperial Crown to his own, had to that purpoſe form'd ſeveral Intreigues in *Germany*, while *Maximilian* was alive, and after his death, which was the reaſon of an *Interregnum*. In the mean while, ſeeing that *Charles* the V. got the better of *Francis* the I. becauſe he had the advantage of labouring more diligently under-hand in the *Electoral Colledge*, than his Competitor, by rea-

ſon

ſon that the Emperor was born in *Germany*, and *Francis* was a Forreigner, which chiefly ſwayed with the Electors not to give him their Suffrages. This begat a Quarrel: and the War continu'd between theſe two potent Monarchs, till at length, it being the Fate of *Francis* to be always unfortunate when he had to do with *Charles* the V. he was taken Priſoner at the Battel of *Pavia*, in the Year 1525, and not releas'd, but upon Conditions very diſadvantageous to *France*, as you may very well imagine. The King never took any Soveraign Prince Priſoner; and you muſt allow, that thô *Charles* the V. had never had but that ſingle Honour in his Life, he would have been always lookt upon as much more fortunate than *Lewis* the *Great*, notwithſtanding all his Conqueſts ſince his Advancement to the Throne. To which we may add, That thô *Lewis* the XIV. in the ſeveral Wars which he has made, had taken any King Priſoner, he could not have thereby gain'd any great Honour; for that all the World knows, that the Princes, with whom he has hitherto had any thing

to

to do, excepting *William* the III. are not to be compared with *Francis* the I. who without all contradiction, was the moſt couragious Prince of his Age.

But *Francis* the I. was not the only Prince that fell into the hands of *Charles* the V. For *Clement* the VII. ſome time after, had the ſame Fate. That Pope had made a League with *France*, the Republics of *Venice* and *Florence*, and the Cantons of *Switzerland*, to expel the *Spaniards* out of *Italy*; who at that time beſieged Duke *Sforza*, in the Caſtle of *Milan*. And *Charles* the V. as good a Catholick as he was, to be reveng'd of his Holineſs, having ſent an Army into *Italy*, under the Command of the Duke of *Bourbon*, beſieged *Rome*, took it, and ſackt it, and conſtrain'd the *Pope* to ſhut himſelf up in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, with all his Cardinals; and after he had paid for his Ranſome about Forty or Fifty thouſand Crowns in Gold, was glad to make a Peace with the Emperor, in the Year 1529, by the Marriage of *Alexander de Medici*, his Nephew, with *Margaret*, the natural

Daughter

Daughter of *Charles*. You muſt acknowledge, Sir, that the King had never theſe Advantages over any Pope, thô he has had many Quarrels with the Court of *Rome*.

The Enterprize of *Gigeri*, in the Year 1664, and his Bombing of *Argiers*, were nothing in compariſon with what *Charles* the V. did, the ſame Year that he came to an Accommodation with the Pope. He drove *Solyman* the *Magnificent* from before *Vienna*, and ſome Years after croſſed over into *Africa*, with an Army of above fifty thouſand Men, took the ſtrong Fort of *Gouletta*, and reſtored *Muley Haſſen* to his Kingdom of *Tunis*. Whereas the Enterprize of *Gigeri* prov'd unfortunate and diſgraceful to *Lewis* the XIV. and by his *Bombing* of *Argiers*, he did no more then only a little incommode the Barbarians, who never much trouble themſelves for the loſs of their ſorry Houſes; and were ſo far from ſubmitting themſelves, that they grew more inſolent in their Affronts to *France*, than they were before.

Laſtly, Sir, That Emperour took Priſoners *John Frederick*, Elector of *Saxony*,

Saxony, and *Philip*, Landgrave of *Heſs*: he deſpoil'd the Dukes of *Wirtemberg* and *Cleves* of their Territories, and form'd a great number of other Exploits of the ſame nature in *Germany*. He was Emperor, and King of *Spain* at the ſame time. The Limits of his Empire extended even to the New World: He poſſeſs'd the Seventeen Provinces entire: He was Maſter of *Burgundy*, *Franche Contè*, and *Alſatia*: He had an abſolute Power over the Princes of *Germany* and *Italy*: He had made an Accommodation with the Proteſtants. He had marry'd his Son *Philip* the II. with *Mary* of *England*. And becauſe he would not be expos'd to the good Fortune of *Henry* the II. who ſucceeded his Father *Francis* the I. he made a Truce with him for Five Years.

Nevertheleſs, in the midſt of the greateſt Security that a Monarch could enjoy, he reſign'd both his Empire and all his other Dominions. Now, Sir, compare the Conqueſts and Succeſſes of this great Monarch, with thoſe of your Father; but above all, conſider him in his voluntary Retirement,

ment, and compare that Condition of his with the preſent Condition of your Father. You muſt agree, that *Lewis* the XIV. is much inferiour to *Charles* the V. and that he has more reaſon, by a great deal, to reſign his Soveraignty, and that it would be a laſting Honour to him to imitate the Prudence of a Prince ſo much his Superiour.

Thô the King be the proudeſt Prince in the World, there are a great number of Courtiers about him, who flatter him, That how powerful ſoever his Enemies may be, yet he is much more puiſſant than they; and that he ſhall ruin them at laſt, thô they ſhould not deſtroy one another by their own Miſunderſtandings. Nevertheleſs, I am perſwaded, that if he would but ſeriouſly conſider the Reaſons and Examples which I have laid before him, they would very much ſtagger his Reſolutions. The greateſt Pride in the World will ſtoop, when unavoidable Dangers ſtares it in the Face. And therefore let him be the proudeſt Prince in *Europe*, it behoves him to conſider Events, and examine ſuch Pro-

Propoſals as are made him, to prevent thoſe Accidents that may ſully his Reputation in the Opinion of Poſterity.

Never believe, Sir, that the King will take it ill at your hands, if you propoſe him a way to preſerve his Dominions and his Crown, and ſave his People, of whom he is the Father. He will hearken to ye, never doubt it: And perhaps it may ſo fall out, that opening his Eyes to your Remonſtrances, and ſhutting his Ears to the flattering Stories of his Courtiers, who have extoll'd him for thoſe things, which he knows will one day be a Blot to his Hiſtory, he will reſolve to reſign the Soveraignty into your hands, for fear of hazarding the loſs of it, and ſeeing it under the Power of his Enemies.

If the King loves you, as I make no queſtion but he does, your Intereſt alone will move him, thô his own Glory, and the Safety of his People were not able to prevail with him. He will conſider that his Misfortunes will be yours, and that the ſame Fate will befal him, as befel our firſt Parent, who

who envelopp'd in his own Miſery all that deſcended from his Loyns.

I know that Men at this day diſtinguiſh between the Monarchy of *Lewis* the XIV. and the *Crown of France*; that is, between the Uſurpations of *France*, and the Ancient Patrimony of the Crown. I know that *Hiſtorians* moſt incens'd againſt the King, at the ſame time that they animate all the Princes and States of *Europe* to deſtroy the Monarchy, exhort 'em not to meddle with the Crown. But who knows, whether the Confederates will underſtand this Diſtinction, when they get the Maſtery; or if they did underſtand it, whither they would follow their Directions.

Never flatter yourſelf, Sir, Policy is not govern'd by the Maxims of Chriſtianity; and this you find to be Truth at home. Beſides, there are certain Occaſions when the Rights of War require that all ſhould be taken from the Uſurper, and that the Child, thô Innocent, ſhould bear the Iniquity of his Father.

This one Argument will ſway with the King. He will not run the riſque of

of ſeeing you vagabonding from one Court to another to beg, like a poor Wretch, a ſmall Penſion for Subſiſtance. He will leave you the Maſter of a Crown, which he has worn but too long, and will put himſelf among the Fathers of *Mount Carmel*, in imitation of one of his Miſtreſſes, the beſt beloved of 'em all, who now lives retired after ſuch a godly and devout manner, that all good People make no queſtion, but that her Illuſtrious Penitence will one day crown her with a *Saintſhip*.

The Second Diſcourſe.

SIR,

I May very well deceive myſelf: For in regard that Kings who have been proſperous, and are not altogether fallen from their Proſperity, do not always act as they ought, by the Rules of prudent Policy; how great ſoever the Dangers may be to which they

they ſee themſelves expos'd; it may happen that *Lewis* the XIV. intoxicated with the Proſperity which has hitherto attended him; wrapt up with the vaſt number of his Conqueſts, and pufft up with his numerous Armies; may perhaps take little care either of his own, or your Honour, nor the good of his Soul, meerly in hopes to die upon the Throne. There are Kings who hazard all, not only becauſe they are naturally inclin'd to believe that they are above all Misfortune, but becauſe they are ſo weak as to ſuffer themſelves to be confirm'd in their Deluſions by Flattery. This is the true Character of *Lewis the Great.* He believes that Fortune is a Goddeſs that is oblig'd always to court him; and that the Sun by which he uſually repreſents himſelf in ordinary *Impreſſes*, is not like the natural Sun, that many times is Eclips'd; and that becauſe his Flatterers never ceaſe to tell him, That he is as much above all other Kings, as other Princes are above their People, which makes him deſpiſe the Kings of *Poland* and *England*; for theſe Reaſons I ſay, he believes himſelf to be more

Valiant

Valiant and Couragious than either of those Hero's, who have signaliz'd themselves by so many renowned Exploits.

I am perswaded also, Sir, that the King believes himself to be the justest of all the Monarchs in the World, and looks upon the Confederates as Usurpers, that would wrest his Patrimony from him.

But in regard we are naturally inclin'd to believe what is most for our advantage, what is it you would have the King to believe? His Flatterers perswade him, That he has taken *Alsatia* by force of Arms, in a lawful War, and that he is become the true Possessor of it by several Treaties: That *Christina Regent* of *Savoy*, surrender'd *Pignerol* into his hands, to satisfie for the excessive Expences he had been at in defending her against the *Spaniards*, and her Brother's-in-Law: That he was constrain'd by *Reason of State* to make himself Master of *Orange*, and to demolish the Castle and Walls; his Conscience not permitting him to suffer a Place to stand in the heart of his Kingdom, which might afford any

Refuge

Refuge to the Hereticks: That he enjoys *Lorrain* by a ſolemn Treaty concluded at *Paris* with Duke *Charles*, in the Year 1660: That *Dunkirk* was yielded up to him the ſame Year, by *Charles* the II.: That he ſeiz'd upon *Franche Contè*, at a time when he was in War with *Spain*, and that afterwards the poſſeſſion was confirmed to him by the Peace of *Nimeghen*: That all the Places which he took in *Flanders* are but a ſmall part of the lawful pretenſions of his Queen: That *Straſburgh* was ſurrender'd into his hands by the Magiſtrates of the City, for Reaſons alledg'd at *Munſter*, and repeated at *Nimeghen*: That *Caſal* was given up to him the ſame day, without any Violence offer'd: That the City of *Luxemburgh* belong'd to him, as a Dependency of the Country which had been granted to him by the Treaties of Peace: That the taking of *Avignon* was juſt, becauſe it was to mortifie a Pope who had treated him like a younger Brother, who is the eldeſt Son of the Church: That he never invaded the *Palatinate*, till he found they took no Notice of the Pre-

tenſions of his Siſter-in-Law: That he had never taken *Philipsburgh*, but becauſe the Emperor broke his Word in not reſtoring it to the Biſhop of *Spiers* as he was engag'd to do. And laſtly, If he has burnt ſo many Cities and Towns, and waſted all before him with Fire and Sword, it was only to unheard of Hoſtilities, to incline the *German* Princes to Peace. All theſe things are told him, and he believes them, becauſe the Deluſions are pleaſing and advantageous to him.

There is one thing nevertheleſs which ought to unſeal his Eyes, which is, that the ſame Flatterers, who would make him to be lookt upon as a juſt Prince, are the ſame Perſons who have ſo often told him, He was the moſt Godly and Pious of Princes, at the ſame time that he moſt abandon'd himſelf to Debauchery; and that there never was any King in the *French* Monarchy, that ever had a juſter Right to the Title of Moſt Chriſtian King, thô at the ſame time he wag'd War againſt St. *Peter*, and violated the moſt Sacred Laws which Chriſtianity preaches to us; and that he

he made a League with an Infidel Prince to extirminate the Chriſtians.

A clear-ſighted Prince would give little ear to ſuch abſurd and groſs Panegyrick-Mongers. But Kings are weak, in this point; as are the greateſt part of Men, and more eſpecially *Lewis* the XIV. Labour therefore to diſabuſe him: There is no other Obſtacle in your way.

So long as the King believes himſelf Potent; ſo long as he flatters himſelf, That there is not any Prince in the World that can equal him in Worth and Merit. So long as he is fully perſwaded, that all his Uſurpations are lawful Conqueſts, and that his Rapines are juſt, he will never quit the Throne, till Death conſtrains him to a Reſignation. But if he could once ſee that his Forces are impair'd, that he is not the only Hero of this Age; but that he has contaminated both his Life and his Reign, with an infinite number of unjuſt Actions, and by Hoſtilities, of which a *Mahometan* Prince would have been aſham'd, he may then recollect himſelf, and reſign to you a Scepter, which he is no longer fit to weild.

I know very well it is the Maxim of ſome Men, *That to undeceive a Man biaſſed by Prejudice, is to do him as ill a Turn, as that which was done to the* Athenian *Fool, who was made believe, that all the Veſſels which arriv'd in that Port belong'd to him.* But you muſt do him this bad Office, ſince you cannot do him a better. Tell him the Story of *Darius*, who was deſpoil'd of all his Dominions by *Alexander*, thô he were the greateſt Prince that ever govern'd *Perſia*. That of the Emperor *Valerian*, of whoſe back the *Parthian Sapor* made uſe for a Block to get up a Horſe-back. Tell him that of *Tomambey*, *Soldan* of *Ægypt*, who after he had been dragg'd along upon the ground, at the Tail of an old *Camel*, was hang'd upon the next Tree. Mind him of *Bajazet*, Emperor of the *Turks*, who was by *Tamberlane* King of the *Tartars* ſhut up, and carri'd about in a Iron Cage, where after he had liv'd above twenty Years, not having any other means to end his Life, he was forc'd to knock out his Brains againſt the Bars of the Cage. Make him underſtand that it concerns his Honour, his own

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and your Intereſt, and the Intereſt of his Kingdom, for him to abandon willingly a Dignity, which it would be diſhonourable for to relinquiſh by force; and that there is no Victory like vanquiſhing himſelf. And if after all that you can do, he will not be diſabus'd, nor willingly reſign to you hisR oyal Authority, I muſt then tell ye in down-right terms, you muſt make uſe of force, and take your meaſures ſo well, that you may aſcend the Throne, after you have declared him unfit for Government.

Upon this occaſion, Sir, you muſt appear a *Hero*, and throw aſide all your mortal Imbecillities. Upon this occaſion it is, that you muſt call to mind, that there are certain Circumſtances which may juſtifie a Son's dethroning of his own Father, without a Crime; nay, which will make it criminal not to take that courſe.

Forget for a little time, your relation to your Father, that you may remember your relation to *France*. Caſt off thoſe Tenderneſſes of a Child, that will oppoſe your Deſign. 'Tis a feeble Soul that will liſten to Nature upon

ſuch occaſions. What! is there not the Ruin of a Nation; the Deſtruction of one of the faireſt and moſt flouriſhing Kingdoms in the World; an Enemy waſting all before him; an Enemy Triumphant and Victorious! a Throne ranvers'd; a Royal Family diſpers'd! All theſe things, do they not croud before your Eyes? And are not the dreadful Apparitions of ſuch dire Calamities enough to move ye, and make you in a moment forget that you are the Son of *Lewis* the XIV.

When the Saviour of the World ſaid, that we ought to hate Father and Mother for the love of him; and that he that does it not, deſerves not to be call'd his Diſciple; Does he not teach us in expreſs Terms that the love which we ought to have for thoſe that gave us being, is one of thoſe Duties which may be ſometimes diſpens'd with? And that there are certain Occaſions, and certain Neceſſities wherein Religion and Conſcience oblige us to uſe our Parents no better than Pagans or Publicans. Now upon what occaſion, I beſeech ye, can you more advantageouſly put in practice

ctice this Precept of Chriſt, then when the Safety of a Nation lies at ſtake, and that you ſee it viſibly upon the brink of Perdition.

Had you no other then Chimerical Reaſons, like that ſame *Euthyphron* in *Plato*, who ſues his Father, for having ſuffer'd one of his Slaves to die at the bottom of a Dungeon, who had kill'd another, you might look upon *Lewis* the XIV. as a *Sacred* Perſon, as the Anointed of the Lord, as a Saint, whom it were not lawful for you ſo much as to touch. But the Reaſons you have to the contrary are eſſential Reaſons, ſince you cannot uſe him as Fathers are uſually treated, unleſs you run the hazard of loſing a Kingdom, which looks upon you in its Miſeries, as her only Redeemer, and that you cannot without committing a great Crime, refuſe to defend her, ſince it is in your Power to do it.

Should you ſuffer Nature to work; I muſt confeſs your tenderneſs would appear praiſe-worthy, and would be the Subject of many Elogies, which the Prieſts would beſtow upon yee: But how Cruel would it be! how unjuſt!

how unſeaſonable! Is it not better that one ſhould periſh, then that a whole Kingdom ſhould be deſtroyed? Never Heſitate then, but let *Lewis* be the Victim. 'Tis only by the means of ſuch an Oblation, that you can Attone ſo many Princes, who have conſpired againſt *France*. He is the *Jonas* that muſt be thrown Overboard, if you will aſſwage the Tempeſt, and ſtop the Fury of the Thunder juſt ready to fall upon your Head.

Jupiter laid *Saturn* in Chains, and yet he was numbred among the Gods, nay look't upon as the chiefeſt, and Parent of all the Reſt, notwithſtanding he was ſo ſevere and harſh to him that gave him Being. You know what the Poets ſay of him. They tell yee that *Saturn* devour'd his own Children, and that it was for that Reaſon that his Son reſolv'd to load him with Chains, not being able otherwiſe to put a ſtop to the brutiſh Fury of ſuch an unnatural Father. The Morals of theſe Fables farther inſtruct you, that *Saturn* was a Prince that raigned among the *Babylonians*, that he became a Tyrant, and to defray his immoderate Expences, he had

had ruin'd his People, and that his Son dethron'd him, not being able to ſtop the Career of his Tyranny.

This Example, you ſee, is as ancient as the Deluge. 'Tis true that Nature in thoſe remote Ages, as well as now, taught us that common Precept, *Honour thy Father and thy Mother.* But that was no Hindrance, but that at the ſame time ſhe inculcated into Children, that there were extraordinary Occaſions which juſtified the diſpenſing with that Precept; and ſhews us that a Father, who is a Tyrant, is not to be lookt upon as a Father, but as a furious Lion, who ought to be chained up by his Son. In a word, Nature inſpires us to extirpate Tyranny, and that he who has a right to do it, ought not to be ſtupified or quelled with the Relation which he may have to the Tyrant. This is a Law in all Countries, and a Sanction in all Ages.

Read the Eaſtern Hiſtories, and you will there find a great number of Princes, whoſe Deſtinies were like to that of *Mahomet* the Fourth, dethron'd in our days.

But what need we ſearch for Exam-

ples of this Nature among the Infidels, when we may find ſo many among the Chriſtians. Surely, Sir, you need but caſt your Eyes upon the Hiſtories of *England* and *Denmark*, of *Poland* and *Swedeland*, which are full of Examples of Princes dethron'd.

The Emperour *Maurice*, who by the Report of St. *Gregory*, was ſo zealous to defend the Catholick Faith, and to whom *Eutichens* of *Conſtantinople*, and Abbot *Theodore*, had fortetold by Inſpiration from Heaven, his Advancement to the Empire, yet forgot himſelf to that degree, that he commanded that no Souldier ſhould turn Monk, till he had ſerv'd out his full time in the Wars. And to this Injuſtice, he added an Avarice ſo ſordid, as rendred him odious to all the Army. For having one day refuſed to redeem certain Souldiers that had been taken in Battel, tho' the Ranſom offered were very inconſiderable, the Officers and Souldiers by joynt Conſent elected in his room *Phocas*, tho' no more than a private Centurion. Which *Phocas* purſued and took, and put him to death upon a publick Scaffold, after he had kill'd four of his Sons.

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The Emperour *Henry* the IV. to whom all the Hiſtorians give the Character of a Heroick Prince, and who to omit thoſe other noble Qualities that enrich'd his Mind, had been perſonally in above ſixty Battels, nevertheleſs had an infinite number of Faults, which coſt him the loſs of the Empire. For in his time, as well you know it was, that the famous quarrel began between the Popes and the Emperours. *Alexander* the II. had cited him to *Rome* to give an accompt of his looſe Life, and for his ſelling the Inveſtitures of Biſhops, which he pretended to be his Right; but the Emperour derided his Citation. *Gregory* the VII. who ſucceeded *Alexander*, enraged at *Henry* the Fourth's Contempt of the Holy See, and being willing to lay hold upon any pretence, treated him with ſo much ſcorn upon the occaſion of Inveſtitures, that the Emperour, who was no leſs haughty, obſerv'd no Meaſures with the Pope. He leagu'd himſelf with all his Enemies, and thereby drew upon himſelf an Excommunication, which was the cauſe of all his Misfortunes. 'Tis true, that he in like manner Excommunicated

municated the Pope in an Aſſembly of the Biſhops and all the Eccleſiaſtical Princes of the Empire. But *Henry* nevertheleſs, in a ſhort time after, was reduced to that extremity, that ſeeing that moſt of the Princes of *Germany* and *Italy* had taken Arms againſt him, at the ſollicitation of *Gregory*, he reſolv'd to go a Penitent to *Rome*, to take off his Excommunication, which in truth the Pope did, but in ſuch a ſcornful manner, that all the Princes and States of *Italy* murmur'd at it. For *Henry* being arrived at *Canoſſa*, where the Pope lay, they let him enter the firſt Gate, having there encloſed him all alone, while they that attended him were left without, he was given to underſtand that there was no Remiſſion to be had, unleſs he faſted three days together, unleſs he ſtood every one of thoſe days till the evening, in the Snow, upon his bare feet, and after that Penance implored the Pope's Pardon for his Fault: all which was punctually performed.

This Prince, who never expected ſo ſevere an Entertainment, incens'd at his own folly that had conſtrain'd him to be reduc'd to a neceſſity ſo violent,

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joyned in Opinion with the Princes and States of *Italy*, who lookt upon the Pope's pride, as a thing of dangerous Conſequence, and declared himſelf once more an Enemy to the Pope. But the Iſſue proved unſucceſsful. For *Gregory* by his ſecret Intrigues, having brought over all the Princes to his ſide, he was deprived of his Imperial Dignity, and *Rodolphus*, Duke of *Suabia*, was elected in his room, and Crown'd at *Mayence* in the Year 1077.

The Emperour on the other ſide, declared War againſt *Rodolphus*, and foil'd him ſeveral times; but in regard the Biſhops, who had elected the latter, were obliged to ſupport him, they adviſed the Pope to Excommunicate *Henry* a ſecond time; which he did: and then it was that *Rodolphus* received the Crown from the Hands of *Gregory* with theſe words:

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus *Diadema* Rodolpho;
From Petra Peter *firſt receiv'd his Name*,
Peter *to* Ralph *conſigns the Diademe.*

The Emperour on the other ſide, having aſſembled a Councel of ſeveral Biſhops, both of *Italy* and *Germany*, and preſiding himſelf in the Aſſembly, as his

his Predeceſſors had done, *Gregory* the VII. was there depoſed, and *Gilbert*, Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, who call'd himſelf *Clement* the III. was choſen in his room. But ſoon after *Rodolphus* was wounded in a Battel which he fought, and dyed of his wounds. He was interred with great Pomp, and upon his Tomb was engrav'd a Crown, with all the other Imperial Ornaments; which gave occaſion to *Henry* to ſay, *That he wiſh'd all his Enemies enterr'd as magnificently as* Rodolphus.

Henry being rid of his Rival, prepared for a Voyage into *Italy*, where he made himſelf Maſter of *Rome*, where he cauſed the Pope and himſelf to be crown'd with all the uſual Ceremonies.

Nevertheleſs, in regard this War between *Henry* and the *Apoſtolick See* had troubled all *Germany*, and that all the Princes were oblig'd to take part with the Head of the Church, all the World leagu'd themſelves againſt the Emperour, and principally his two Sons *Conrade* and *Henry*, who entred into a Deſign to Depoſe him, to the end they might reſtore Peace to *Germany*, and at the ſame time rid the Holy See of one

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of the moſt implacable Enemies that ever the Popes had.

In a word, *Henry* the Son took him Priſoner, and having ſummon'd an Aſſembly of the Princes to *Mayence*, and the Pope's Legates, who were there preſent, having read over the two Excommunications that had been thundred out againſt the Emperour, the Aſſembly with one Conſent depos'd him from the Imperial Dignity, and proclaim'd his Son *Henry*. After which the Archbiſhops of *Mayence* and *Cologne*, with the Biſhop of *Wertembergh*, were deputed to carry the News to *Henry* the Fourth, and to bring away the Imperial Ornaments.

Henry urg'd many ſtrong Reaſons, and did his utmoſt to oppoſe this Deſign; but the Biſhops by violence took away the Crown which they had put upon his Head, and by force diſrob'd him of the Imperial Mantle, and returning to *Mayence*, delivered them to the new Emperour: Nor could *Henry* the IV. be ever again reſtored.

Wenceſlaus Emperour and King of *Bohemia*, at the Age of ſeventeen years, took upon him the Government of the

Empire

Empire and Kingdom of *Bohemia*, but he brought along with him ſuch vicious Conditions, that worſe could not be. He kept his Reſidence at *Prague*, the Capital City of *Bohemia*, and following the example of *Charles* his Father, he ſold what was to be ſold of the Rights of the Empire, and committed a number of other Miſcarriages, which were the occaſion of a Civil War in *Germany*, which proved fatal to ſeveral Princes.

Beſides, one great piece of Negligence which *Wenceſlaus* committed in the management of his Affairs, he was addicted to ſo much Debauchery of all ſorts, that he was contemn'd by all his Subjects. More eſpecially he drew upon himſelf their hatred by his exceſſive Impoſitions which he laid upon them, and by the unheard of Cruelties which he exerciſed upon their Perſons, to which he had habituated himſelf in ſuch a manner, that he made no ſcruple to cut off the Heads of Magiſtrates of *Prague*, without any Legal Trial.

The great Lords of *Bohemia* ſeeing theſe Diſorders of their King increaſe from day to day, thought it but neceſ-

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ſary to put a ſtop to them, and by the conſent of *Sigiſmund* the King's Brother, they confin'd him in a cloſe Priſon, from whence he found a way to eſcape, about four Months after. He was afterward taken and retaken ſeveral times, till at length having made his laſt Eſcape, he got to *Prague*, and by the Aſſiſtance of ſome Lords that were his Friends, he re-aſſumed his Royal Authority, with promiſe to lead a more regular Life for the future.

Nevertheleſs, he took no more care of the Affairs of the Empire than he did before. He ſold the *Seignioral* Rights of ſeveral Lands, and the Title of D. of *Milan*, without the Conſent or Knowledge of the Electors and other Princes. So that the Princes perceiving all the ways he could to diſmember the Empire to ſupply his ſordid Avarice, and this at a time that the *Wicklevians* began to divide it, and that the Victorious Turks prevailed over the Chriſtians every day; Theſe Princes, I ſay, after long forbearances, judging that it concern'd the Publick Safety, to delay no longer the electing an

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Emperour capable to reſtore the Peace of the Empire, and ſupport the Imperial Dignity, by the Advice of Pope *Boniface*, declared *Wenceſlaus* uncapable to Govern, and Depoſed him.

This Sentance of Depoſal was publiſhed the Twentieth of *Auguſt*, 1400. *Frederick* Duke of *Lunenburgh* and *Brunſwick* was in Nomination, but he dying within a few days, *Robert*, ſirnamed the Little, was elected in his room.

Winceſlaus ſeemed to be inſenſible of his being depoſed; and it is reported that he ſhould ſay, *That he was over-joy'd to be diſcharg'd of the Burthen of the Empire, in hopes that he might the better apply himſelf to the Government of his Kingdom.* And indeed for Nineteen years that he reigned afterward in *Bohemia*, his Subjects found his Conduct infinitely much more rational than it had been before. And thus you ſee, Sir, that the Depoſing a Prince may ſometimes prove a meritorious Work, at which the Angels themſelves rejoyce. For in ſhort, not only a whole Eſtate is thereby preſerved, but you contribute to the Salvation of a reprobate and ungra-

ungracious Prince, who is thereby ſnatch'd, as I may ſay, from the jaws of Hell, to be tranſlated into Paradiſe, and made a Veſſel of Election.

Fathers are oblig'd, according to the Maxims of the Goſpel, to watch over the Salvation of their Children; and the Scripture ſays, *That he who neglects the care of his Family, is worſe than an Infidel.* On the other ſide, Children are no leſs oblig'd, in reſpect of thoſe that gave them Being. They ought to be the Fathers of their Fathers, and are oblig'd to labour their Salvation, when they ſee them in the Road to Perdition. They are reſponſible for their Souls, when they may contribute to their Salvation and do not do it. Would you, Sir, acquire the Name of *Pious*? ſave a Father, who like *Wenceſlaus*, has endeavoured ſo long time the Ruin of his Kingdom. Save a Father, whoſe Life, like that of *Wenceſlaus*, has been but one continued Wolf of Cruelties and Debaucheries. Laſtly, Sir, ſave a Father, who has been guilty of a thouſand more Miſcarriages than ever that effeminate Prince.

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Were it poſſible to ſave him by Faſtings, by Mortifications, by Sacrifices, it behoves you to ſpare for nothing of that Nature. You ought to make Vows to all the Saints, to make an Intereſt in the Queen of Heaven by Devotions extraordinary, gird your ſelf with Sack-cloth, and go in Pilgrimages round about the World in ſearch of ſome prevailing Relique yet unknown. But alas! you would in vain condemn your fleſh to ſuch a ſort of Martyrdom. Ambition, Breach of Faith, Luxury, Cruelty, and all other Vices of this Nature, ſo predominant in your Father, are a ſort of Devils not to be expelled by Faſtings nor Prayers. You muſt tear the Crown from his Head; You muſt ranverſe his Throne; You muſt ſeize upon his Scepter. *Wenceſlaus* had been always *Wenceſlaus*, had he been always Emperour. Have you leſs affection for *Lewis* the XIV. than the Subjects of *Wenceſlaus* had for a *Sardanapalus*? For a Prince that was ſo unworthy to ſit upon the Throne of the *Cæſars*? No, Sir, you love the King too well, not to furniſh him with the means of his Converſion. You muſt deprive

deprive him of that Soveraignty which he has ſo long abus'd to the great prejudice of all his Kingdom. You muſt deſpoil him of that Royal Dignity, which is ſo great an Obſtacle of his Salvation. You muſt ſhut him up in a Monaſtery, where he may attend the work of his Mortification, in imitation of ſo many Saints, who have voluntarily confin'd themſelves to diſentangle themſelves from the ſnares of the World, and gain Paradiſe. Or if it be a Crown he ſo much wants, you may procure him one more honourable than any Celeſtial Diadem; for who ſhall hinder you? For who will hinder you from adorning him with a ſhaven Crown?

Lewis the XIV. would not be the firſt King that has been depos'd in *France*. *Childeric*, who was the third King after *Pharamond*, having at the ſame moment that he aſcended the Throne, abuſed his Royal Authority, was degraded. The *French* could not endure that a young King, not content to load them with Taxes, ſhould Command their Wives and Daughters from them. Therefore they aſſembled together

gether with a Reſolution to oppoſe his Tyranny; and after they had declar'd him unworthy to wield the *Scepter*, they elected in his room, *Egidius*, or *Giles*, who commanded for the *Romans* in *Gaul*, and reſided at *Soiſſons*. *Childeric* ſubmitted to his Depoſal, and lived in the Kingdom like a private perſon; but perceiving there was ſome Deſign againſt his Life, he fled for Sanctuary to King *Baſin* in *Turingia*, from whence he was recalled ſome time after, and reſtored to his Throne, *Egidius* being expelled for his Oppreſſions.

Thierry King of *Neuſtria* and *Burgundy*, after he had raigned ſomewhat more than a year, was ſhaved and ſent to the Monaſtery of *St. Dennis*, where he remained, till *Childeric* II. who was advanced in his room, was put to death by his own Subjects for his Cruelties and Debaucheries, and then was again fetched out of the Abby, to reaſſume the Government, from which he had been depoſed.

Childeric III. called the Madman, who was the laſt King of the firſt Race, taſted of the ſame Deſtiny with

Childeric

Childeric I. and *Thierry*. For in regard he was a Prince incapable to hold the Reins of Government by reaſon of his folly and ſtupidity, *Pepin* aſſembled a Parliament, that would have preſently conferred the Title of King upon him, but that they were forced to have recourſe to the Pope to abſolve them from their Oath of Allegiance.

The Pope at that time was *Zachary*; to whom *Burchard* Biſhop of *Bourges* was ſent; who repreſented to his Holineſs the ſad Condition of *France*, the diſpoſition of the *French*, and the incapacity of the King, who immediately granted him a Diſpenſation as was deſired.

Which being brought from *Rome*, the *French* aſſembled another Parliament at *Soiſſons*, where they depoſed *Childeric*, and elected *Pepin* in his place. *Boniface*, Arch-Biſhop of *Mayence*, was preſent at that Aſſembly, with ſeveral other Biſhops; and by the ſame Decree which depoſed *Childeric*, he was firſt condemned to be ſhaved, and afterwards confin'd to the Abby of *St. Bertin* near *St. Omers*, from whence he was removed to the Monaſtery of *St.*

Hemeran

Hemeran at *Ratisbone*, where he dyed a *Monk*.

Pepin II. having rendred himſelf odious to his Kingdom, by his Oppreſſions, Injuſtice, and Debauchery, the Lords of *Aquitain* called in *Charles* the *Bald* his *Uncle*, who was received at *Limoges* with all the Expreſſions of Joy imaginable, and by all the Lords attended to the Siege of *Tholoſe*, which he took by Compoſition. Nevertheleſs *Charles*, as unjuſt as naturally he was, made a ſcruple of dethroning his Nephew, which occaſioned a Reconciliation between them. After which, *Pepin* by his ill Management provoked the *Aquitains* to that degree, that they ſeized upon him, and delivered him to *Charles* his Uncle, who cauſed him to be ſhaved, and then ſhut him up in the Monaſtery of *St. Medard* at *Soiſſons*. True it is, he found a way to eſcape, and ſculk'd about for ſome time, and not knowing what Courſe to take, at length caſt himſelf upon the *Normans*, which only ſerv'd to make him more odious and contemptible than he was before. So that being retaken, his own Subjects looking

ing upon him as a Traytor to this Country and to Chriſtendom, condemned him to death; however they ſav'd his Life, and penn'd him up in the ſtrong Caſtle of St. *Lis.*

Charles the *Groß*, who was Emperour and King of *France*, both at a time, a moſt proſperous Prince at the Beginning of his Reign, became at length the moſt unfortunate of Men. He was at firſt ador'd by the People, for the great and glorious Atchievements that had ſignaliz'd his Proweſs. He expell'd out of *Italy*, the *Saraſins* that threatned *Rome*. After that, he raiſed a great Army to oppoſe the Excurſions of the *Normans*. But in regard that Princes are not always proſperous, and for that he found a greater Reſiſtance than he did in *Italy*, he was overthrown in one Battel; upon which, fearing doubtleſs, the event of a ſecond, he concluded a Peace with the Enemy, by which he yielded to them the poſſeſſion of *Normandy* and *Frieſland*.

This Conceſſion diſguſted the *French*, as well for that *Charles* had no Right or Authority to make it without their Conſent, as becauſe by quitting thoſe

two Provinces to the *Normans*, he had dismembred the Royal Patrimony, which could not be alienated by the Constitutions of the Kingdom.

One would have thought that the Necessity to which *Charles* was reduced, might have in some measure excused him. But being from that time lookt upon as a Prince very imperious, and more then that, as a Prince ungrateful, for contemning and ill treating a people, that had so much contributed to his Advancement to the Throne, the *French* conceived so great an Aversion against him as would admit of no Reconciliation.

Some say that *Charles* had always a crackt Brain, ever since a supposal of his, that he had been the Devil, who put a thousand whims in his Head touching the Empress his Wife. Which caused him to be guilty of a thousand Impertinencies. So that after he had committed a number of Extravagancies in an Assembly at *Tribur*, the manifest effects of a raving Brain, all his *German* and *Bavarian* Subjects abandoned him, by the Advice of his own Sister *Hildegard*, to elect in his room *Arnold*,

Arnold, the Natural Son of his Brother. The *Lorrainers* alſo and *Suabians* followed the example of the *Germans* and *Bavarians*; and the *French* call'd in *Eudes*, Count of *Paris*, and Duke of *France*, who had nominated in the laſt *Will* of *Lewis* the *Stammerer*. So that *Charles* was all of a ſuddain left alone, without ſo much as a *Lacquey* to ſerve him, or any thing to ſubſiſt upon, like *Belizarius* the General of *Juſtinian*'s Armies. Only *Luitper* Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, took pity of him; he reliev'd him for ſome time, till at length *Arnold*, at the ſolicitation of the ſaid Biſhop, having allow'd the Revenue of two or three pitiful Villages, which he made choice of for his Retirement, where he ended his days after a very Tragical manner, being ſtrangled by the People that attended on him, if we may give credit to Hiſtory.

Charles the *Simple*, being recalled out of *England*, whither *Adelaida* his Mother had carried him, to avoid the Fury of *Lewis* and *Carleman*, the Natural Sons of *Lewis* the *Stammerer*, was crown'd at *Rheims* in the Year 893. and acknowledged by the *French*.

Charles began his Reign, with a Peace concluded with the *Normans*, after he had got the better of them in ſeveral Conflicts. He ſeized upon almoſt all *Lorrain*; but he diſpoſed ſo indiſcreetly of the Government, that thoſe whom he entruſted made themſelves Maſters of it. Beſides, he was a young Prince, of weak parts, and led by his Favourites that abſolutely poſſeſſed his Ears. So that his ill management of the Affairs of the Kingdom ſo highly incens'd the Lords of the Kingdom, that being aſſembled at *Soiſſons*, they expell'd him his Dominions, and reduc'd him to ſuch extremity, that he was conſtrain'd to retire for Relief to *Foulque* Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, who had chiefly laboured his Admittance to the Crown; who maintain'd him at his own Charges, all his other Revenues being taken from him.

In the mean time, *Robert* Count of *Paris*, Brother of *Eudes*, and Grandfather by the Father's ſide to *Hugh Capet*, cauſed himſelf to be crowned at St. *Rheny* by *Rheimes*. Thereupon *Charles* betook himſelf to *Henry* the III. who promiſed to aſſiſt him. But before

fore the Emperor's Succors arriv'd, *Robert* was at the Head of a great Army, and gave *Charles* Battel near *Soiſſons*, wherein he was ſlain; and ſome ſay that *Charles* the *Simple* ran him through with his Lance. However it were, *Charles* made ſo ill uſe of his Advantage, that his Enemies gain'd time to oppoſe againſt him *Raoul* of *Burgundy*.

Nevertheleſs, *Charles*'s Army increaſed, and certain it is, that *Raoul* at firſt began to fear him. But the weak King, when he ſhould have hazarded all to have made himſelf King by force of Arms, made Suit for a Peace, which was his ruin. For *Herbert*, Count of *Vermandois*, Son in Law to *Robert*, having drawn him to St. *Quintins*, under pretence of conſulting about the Peace, there ſeiz'd upon him, and ſent him to *Caſtle Thierry*, from whence being brought to *Soiſſons*, where at the ſame time the principal Lords of the Kingdom were aſſembled, he was ſolemnly Depoſed, and *Raoul* as ſolemnly elected in his room. *Charles* was removed from Priſon to Priſon, and dyed after he had reigned thirty years from his Coronation to his Impriſonment.

The Exclusion of *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain*, after the Extinction of the second Race by the Death of *Lewis* the V. was a real Deposal; as you must allow, Sir, if you mark well the History.

Charles was the Son of *Lewis* the IV. Brother to *Lothairr*, and Uncle to *Lewis* the V. Now the Throne being void by the Death of the last King, by the Law of the Land, the Crown apparently belonged to the Duke of *Lorrain*, being the first Prince of the Royal Blood. Nevertheless you know, Sir, that *Hugh Capet*, the Son of *Hugh* the *Great*, Master of the Palace, and Count of *Paris*, was establisht King, & *Charles* excluded.

Certain it is, that the General Estates of *France* had reason sufficient to exclude the Duke of *Lorrain*; for besides that, the Crown of *France* was not then properly successive, the young Duke did all he could to make himself unworthy of the Dignity.

For first, he attended the Emperour *Otho* the II. to be by him invested in the Dutchy of *Lorrain*; and did him Homage for it, instead of holding it in Soveraignty, as he might have done. Which the *French* could not but look upon

upon as a Cowardly Action, by which in a manner he reſigned his Pretenſions to the Crown of *France*. Moreover, after he was Duke of *Lorrain*, he declared againſt *France*, and ſided with the *Germans* that had withdrawn themſelves from their Obedience to the *French* Monarchy.

Theſe two Conſiderations were enough to render the Duke ſuſpected to *France*, and conſequently to make him be lookt upon as unworthy of the Soveraign Government. But that which more eſpecially alienated the Minds of the *French* from him, and made them contemn and hate *Charles*, was his ill Conduct, his Cruelties and Tyranny. For tho' the *Lorrainers* were not his Natural Subjects, he ceaſed not to oppreſs and load them with Taxes to ſupport the Expences of his Prodigality.

So that when the Vacancy fell, the *French* made no ſcruple, to exclude him the Kingdom. For in all Exigencies of this Nature, the People, or thoſe that repreſent them, having not only a *Right* to limit, reſtrain, and order the Circumſtances of Succeſſions as they

ſhall judge moſt proper; but alſo to chooſe ſuch a King as they pleaſe themſelves, the *States General* aſſembled at *Mayon* to proceed according to the ancient Cuſtomes to the Election of a new Monarch, ſo ſoon as the Poſture of Affairs would permit them. All the Perſons of Note and Rank throughout the Kingdom there met; and moſt certain it is, Sir, that there was never ſeen in *France* an Aſſembly of that Nature ſo noble, nor ſo numerous.

Charles was then in *Germany*, and in regard he could not chooſe how the *French* ſtood affected toward him, he ſent his Ambaſſadors to the Aſſembly, who declared in their Maſter's Name, That if they caſt their Eyes upon another, and did not Elect him, ſeeing he was the preſumptive Heir, and firſt Prince of the Blood, he would make them obey him, and chooſe him by force.

The *States*, no way pleaſed with this *Harangue*, nor minding the Duke's Threats, were about to have ſtopt his Ambaſſadors, in order to have made them pay for the raſhneſs of their Maſter.

ſter. But in regard they thought it not convenient to violate the Law of Nations, they thought it ſufficient to ſend him an Anſwer full of ſcorn and deriſion, and at the ſame time by a ſolemn Sentence declar'd, That ſince *Charles* had ſhewn himſelf a Friend to the Enemies of *France*, that the *French* had renounc'd his Friendſhip; and declar'd, that he had forfeited the benefit of the Law, as well for being the firſt that broke it, as for that they were not bound to acknowledge for King, the ſworn Enemy of their Country. And therefore, ſince their Oath oblig'd them to a King that was to be lookt upon as the Father of his Country, to a juſt, prudent, mild, and moderate Prince, they proteſted their open renouncing him before God, with a ſafe Conſcience, and without any alteration of the Fundamental Law; and declar'd withall, that their Intention was to chooſe a King that ſhould take care of the Repoſe of the Kingdom.

This Declaration was deliver'd to the Embaſſadors, with a particular Command forthwith to depart the Kingdom: And the ſame day by an

Authentic Edict it was concluded, That since there was a necessity to choose a King for the Preservation of the Crown of *France*, and the Line being extinct by the death of *Lewis* V. and the manifest Felony of *Charles* D. of *Lorraine*, they did sincerely Elect *Hugh Capet* for King, and promised to obey both him and his Posterity, as their Lawful Kings, according to the Laws of the Kingdom, as they were bound in Duty to God and their own Consciences.

This Edict being published, *Hugh* was Crown'd at *Reims* by the Arch-Bishop *Adalberon*; not one that were present at *Noyon*, or at *Capet*'s Coronation making the least Challenge in *Charles*'s behalf, but on the contrary, subscribing the Oath in Writing, as well as swearing it by word of Mouth to *Hugh Capet*.

Some say, that *Lewis* the V. bequeathed the Kingdom to *Hugh* by Will; others, that he left it to his Wife by his last Testament, to surrender it back to *Hugh*, upon Condition he should Marry her: and so it was not by Choice, but by Will, that this

this first King of the third Race came to the Crown. But as *Mezerai*, who was one of the best Historians of his Age, observes, *His strongest Title was the general Consent of the People of France.* For, Sir, I would not have you flatter your self to think otherwise, but that the People, as they have an Original Right to create the Kings that are to Govern them, so they have a Right to Depose and Exclude them from the Crown, when the Necessity and Repose of the Kingdom require it.

I confess, Sir, that after the Reign of *Hugh Capet*, we do not find in our History any Example of Kings being depos'd. But would you know the Reason? Besides that this Third Race has had no such slothful and weak Princes as abounded in the preceding *Lines*; the Kings of *France* are become much more powerful since that, as having Usurpt by degrees the Rights and Priviledges of the People. *Hugh Capet*, who first found the secret how to win the hearts of the *French*, was the first that began to eclipse the Right of Election, by causing his Son *Robert* to be Crowned with the Consent of the

Estates

Eſtates of the Kingdom: And it came to paſs, that afterwards his Succeſſor inſenſibly ſet themſelves above the Laws, and now enjoy an unlimitted Power.

Do you believe, Sir, that the People of *France* are ſuch Fools, as not to perceive, that the Kings of *France* Reign like Tyrants, and that their Subjects live like Slaves? They have complain'd of it a long time, they have bewail'd their Condition, they have murmured; and if they have not freed themſelves as yet from that Soveraign and Deſpotic Power, which makes their Monarchs Maſters of their Lives and Eſtates, 'tis not becauſe they could not; for when an Opportunity has preſented it ſelf to ſhake off ſo cruel a Yoke, there have been many Tumults and Inſurrections, of which you have ſeen ſome in the Reign of *Lewis* the XIV.

What think you the **Malliotins* intended to have done under

* *At* Paris *a Toll-gatherer having demanded a peny of an Herb-woman for a bunch of Water-creſſes, the Rabble gather'd together, at the cries of the Woman, went and beat down the Gates of the City-Magazine to Arm themſelves, and there having gotten three or four thouſand Iron Hammers, they were called by the Name of* Malliotins, *or People that knockt down People with Hammers.*

der the Reign of *Charles* the VI. They would have ſeized upon the Throne, and taken the Government into their own hands, to have freed themſelves from the heavy Taxes which the King had impoſed upon the Kingdom, and upon all the *Pariſiens*. *Paris*, *Rouen*, *Troyes*, *Orleance*, and ſeveral other Cities took up Arms at the ſame time, in order to have broken their Chains. But *Charles* the VI. returning with a powerful Army out of *Flanders*, broke their Meaſures all of a ſudden. They were afraid to incur the ſame Fate with thoſe of the City of *Gaunt*, which the King had reduced, and put under the Power of *Lewis de Marle* their Count, after *Philip D' Artevelle* had engaged them in a Rebellion. The *Pariſians* no leſs Proud, but not ſo Couragious as thoſe of *Gaunt*, march'd forth above 30000 ſtrong to meet *Charles* in the Plain of *St. Dennis*, making a ſhew as if they would have fought the King. But a ſort of Pannick Terror falling upon them, they durſt not enterprize any thing.

That abominable Maxim, That a Tyrant and a Heretical Prince may be

be Aſſaſſinated, which has been too often practiſed in *France*, ſince the Jeſuits grew numerous, is a convincing Argument that our People are under Bondage, and that they are ill ſatisfied with the Government. For if they had in their hands the power which they had Originally, that is, were they powerful enough to Depoſe a Prince that oppreſſes and devours them, that forces from them their Wives and Daughters, that overwhelms them with Taxes and Contributions, that puts them to death unjuſtly, either for matters in Religion, or for Opinions which the Church condemns, they would never have been provoked to dye their hands in the Blood of the Lord's Anointed: The Church would never have had the ſad occaſion to ſee the moſt Sacred of her Maxims violated, *That ſhe abhors the Effuſion of Blood.* But what ſhall we do, Sir? This is the fruit of Tyranny and Arbitrary Power. The Peoples hands are ty'd; they cannot do what Lawfully they might; they diſcharge themſelves of their ſins by committing Crimes; and this ought to make all the Kings in the

the World tremble, that puſh on their Power too far. For in ſhort, there are Villains, Mad-men, and Jeſuits in every corner.

I believe alſo, we might find ſeveral Kings that have ſeen themſelves upon the very brink of being depriv'd of their Crowns: but I ſhall mention onely *Henry* the III. for I have that Prince in view, becauſe he was kill'd by a * *Monk*.

* Henry *the* III. *being gone to Beſiege* Paris *with an Army of* 40000 *Men, a certain Monk, whoſe Name was* Jacob Clement. *ſtabb'd him at* St. Cloud's, *with a Knife, in the lower part of the Belly, while he was Reading certain Letters, which the Monk delivered him, to amuſe him. The King dy'd next day of the Wound.*

Henry, who had already ſignaliz'd himſelf in ſeveral extraordinary Actions, was elected King of *Poland*, after the Death of *Sigiſmund Auguſtus*, and was Crowned at *Cracovia*.

But underſtanding the Death of *Charles* IX. his Brother, he withdrew himſelf ſecretly out of *Poland*, and was Crown'd King of *France*; at what time he found the Kingdom divided by the Factions of the *Huguenots*. Which Factions ſoon after dividing into three bulky Parties, the Conteſt be-

between them was call'd, The War of the *Three Henrys*. That of the *League*, under the Conduct of *Henry* Duke of *Guiſe*; that of the *Hugonots*, headed by *Henry* King of *Navarr*; and King *Henry*'s Party, which were called the *Politicks*, and was always the weakeſt.

The King of *Navar* laid no preſent claim to the Crown, only deſired to preſerve the Succeſſion in the right *Channel*, if the Branch of *Valois* ſhould happen to fail. And he had reaſon for what he did; in regard that after the Death of the Duke of *Anjou*, Pope *Sixtus* the V. had declar'd him incapable to enjoy it, as alſo the Prince of *Conde*, becauſe they were both *Hereticks*. But it was not ſo with the Duke of *Guiſe*: for in regard he was Duke of *Lorrain*, and that the Excluſion of of his *Line* by the *Capets*, ſtill ſtuck in his ſtomach, he aſpir'd to the Crown. And it was no fault of his, that *Henry* had not been depos'd ſeveral times; but all his Arts fail'd him. He had taken the King's ſide, that he might the better play his part, and ſecure the Crown to himſelf. And indeed, at the

the very time that he ſeem'd to ſerve him moſt faithfully, and that he fought the *Religionanes*, in a Council held at *Rome*, (for that Court ſtill favour'd his Deſigns) they did not ſtick to ſay, 'That thô the Race of the *Capets* had 'ſucceeded to the Temporal Adminiſtration of the Kingdom of *Charlemaign*, it had no Right of Succeſſion to the Apoſtolick Benediction, 'affected and coveted by the Poſterity 'of that great Prince. On the other 'ſide, that as *Hugh Capet* by uſurping '*Charles*'s Crown, had uſurp'd the Benediction; he had thereby drawn 'upon himſelf, and his Succeſſors, a 'perpetual Malediction, which had 'render'd his Poſterity refractory and 'diſobedient to the Church; as being 'introduc'd to ruin that damnable Error call'd by the *French*, *The Liberty of 'the Gallican Church*. To which they added in concluſion, 'That if the 'Duke of *Guiſe*, could but arrive at 'his end, which was to extirminate 'the Hereticks, he might by the 'Warrant and Permiſſion of his Holineſs, ſhut up the King and Queen, in 'a Monaſtery, as *Pepin* his Predeceſſor 'had ſerv'd *Childeric*. And

And ſo far was the Party of the League from expecting leſs, that they averr'd it openly. They call'd the King, *The Doubtful King of* France *and the Imaginary King of* Poland. One day theſe Verſes were found written with a Coal in the Chappel of the *Blanes-Battus*, in the * *Auguſtines* of *Paris*.

* *This was a Brotherhood of White Penitents, Inſtituted by* Hen. 3. *Of which Fraternity the greateſt part of his Favourites were. This Prince had given himſelf over to ſuch a ridiculous ſort of Bigottry, that he would ſometimes run about the Streets of* Paris *all Night in Proceſſion.*

The Bones of the poor Saints deceas'd
In a Burgundian *Croſs here ſhown,*
Declare that all thy Prayers are ceaſt,
And thou thy ſelf ſhalt loſe thy Crown.

One of his Engravers having finiſhed the Quadrant of the Sun-Dial in the Palace, and having put over head theſe words:

——*Who gave thee Two*
Before, a Triple-Crown ſhall give thee now.

Two days after, over the Door of a Shop near the Sun-Dial, this Anſwer was writ:

The Third ſhall ſo be given him, as he the Second held before.

Which gave occaſion to the following Diſtich:

Who

Who gave thee Two, took One away, the other ſhakes,
The Third with Razor keen, the nimble Barber makes.

And over the Motto of the Empreſs, which the King always bore, *Manet ultima Cælo*, were added theſe Verſes:

The heavy Pains for all thy Perjuries
Attend thee laſt of all above the Skies.
For God all Breakers of their Word contemns,
And low depreſt to utmoſt Hell condemns.
Heaven owns thee not, no Crown can Tyrants claim;
Unleſs at laſt a ſhaven Crown with ſhame.

Even the very Preachers in their Pulpits publickly talked the ſame Treaſons. But this was not all; for to facilitate the Deſign which they had projected of encloſing him in a *Cloyſter*, ſome were for ſeizing him while he made his Nocturnal Proceſſions; ſome while he was *Maſquerading*, which was a ſport very common with him. Eight days before the famous Battel of the *Barricado's*, Madam *de Montpenſier* having given a Dinner to four or five *Curiaſſers*, in a Houſe in the Country, without

without St. *Anthony*'s Gate, as the King was returning home with only four or five Lacqueys, and two Gentlemen, thoſe Cuiraſſiers were to have ſeiz'd and run away with him; and then it was to be given out, that the *Hugenots* had taken him. And you well know, Sir, that the Eſtates of *Blois* were aſſembled to no other purpoſe, but that the King might fall the more eaſily into the Hands of the Duke of *Guize*; and *Madam de Monpenſier* carried the Sciſſars at her Girdle, that were to have cut off his Hair, in order to the making his Crown. But the King being inform'd of this Enterprize, caus'd the *Duke*, and the *Cardinal* his Brother to be both murder'd. And it was well it came into his mind; for without that expedient, he had been in great danger of dying a Prieſt.

I need not tell you what had like to have happen'd to *Lewis* the XIV. himſelf, in the time of the Prince's War, it being a thing which you know ſo well. The Prince of *Conde* was going to overturn the Throne, and if he prov'd unſucceſsful, the King may thank the Religionaries, who would never forſake him. Know

Know you, Sir, what would have happen'd had the Duke of *Guize*, and the Prince of *Conde* attain'd their ends? They would have cauſed themſelves to be crown'd Kings; and they would have receiv'd Embaſſadors from all parts, to congratulate their Reſtauration to the Thrones of their Anceſtors. The Pope himſelf has ſent a *Nuncio* to make them Partakers of the Apoſtolic *Benediction*, and to abſolve the Subjects of *Henry* and *Lewis*, from their Oaths of Fidelity and Allegiance. And all the reſt of the Chriſtian Princes would not have fail'd to ſay, That *Henry* had drawn upon himſelf all his Misfortunes, by his Leagues, by his Tyrannies, by his inſane Biggottries, by his blind dotage upon his *Minions*, and that *Lewis* the XIV. as much a God as they lookt upon him to be, ought to be deem'd no other, than the Son of *Mazarine*, or ſome other *Stallion* of the Queen's.

But as for the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Prince of *Condé*, they would have been accompted real Princes; they would have been acknowledg'd for lawful Princes, ſo ſoon as they had been

been inveſted with the Regal Authority, thô it had been never ſo illegally uſurp'd. They had made Alliances with them as *France* did with *Cromwell*, after he had put to Death the King of *England*: And as ſhe afterwards did with the King of *Portugal*, and the preſent *Grand Seignor*, thô they both dethron'd their Brothers. Thoſe Princes, in a word, had been lookt upon as you look upon *Hugh Capet*; and all *Europe* would have the ſame Veneration for you, were you in poſſeſſion of the Throne, after you had depos'd a Prince, who is eſteem'd the Plague and Scourge of Mankind, as it was ſaid of *Attila*.

Either you muſt ſay, Sir, that all the Depoſed Kings which I have reckoned up, was depoſed unjuſtly, and by Conſequence that *Hugh Capet* uſurp'd the Crown of *France*, which you will be very wary how you acknowledge, for it is too much your own concern; or elſe you muſt grant that a Prince may be ſometimes depoſed, when there is a lawful Occaſion. I have ſhewed you already, that it is for the Preſervation of *France*; that it is to keep the Crown upon

upon your own Head; and that it is for the ſalvation of the King's Soul. Are not theſe Arguments ſufficiently prevalent? But I will go farther; I will prove that never any Prince deſerv'd to be pull'd by Head and Shoulders from his Throne, as *Lewis* the XIV.

The Third Diſcourſe.

SIR,

THere are ſome Politicians who maintain, That King's are above the Law; that as they may diſannul the Laws, ſo they may violate them at their pleaſure, without any fear of being call'd to an Account for ſo doing. In a word, that their Soveraignty and their Power is nothing elſe but a *Univerſal Impunity*. So that according to this Maxim, a King can never injure his Subjects, let him uſe them never ſo barbarouſly; and that Subjects are always unjuſt, if they take up Arms againſt

gainſt their King; nay, if they ſo much as murmur at their Oppreſſion.

David, according to theſe Morals, might lye with *Bathſheba*, and never fear being call'd to an account, and ſend her Husband to be ſlaughter'd, and the People never take it in dudgeon. Theſe are the Prerogatives of Soveraigns, with which the People have nothing to do. They alſo farther obſerve, That when the holy Prophet did Penance for his two Crimes of Adultery and Homicide, that he never ask'd Pardon, either of *Bathſheba* or *Uriah*, nor of his People, but acknowledges only that he had ſin'd againſt God, *Againſt thee only have I ſinned.* They pretend alſo that St. *Jerome*, St. *Ambroſe*, and ſome other Fathers of the Church are of their Opinion. But I am not bound to believe 'em for all that; the Fathers are not infallible Authors; a man might make a long Catalogue of the Errors of thoſe Holy Doctors; and let the Fathers ſay what they pleaſe, 'tis not the Church that ſpeaks.

If I would turn Divine, I could unfold to you in what ſenſe *David* expreſſes himſelf after that manner. I could

could inform you that the Holy Prophet was well ſatisfied that he had ſin'd againſt *Bathſheba*, in cauſing her to commit Adultery, one of the fouleſt Crimes with which a Woman can defile herſelf; that he had ſin'd againſt *Uriah*, by having diſhonoured him in raviſhing away his Wife, and afterwards cauſing him to be murder'd. Laſtly, that he had ſin'd againſt his People, whom he had ſcandalized by his own example. But that he had all this while more heinouſly offended God by tranſgreſſing his Holy Law; having thereby given an occaſion to the uncircumciſed Nations to blaſpheme his Divinity: and in regard that God was without queſtion, more conſiderable, than either *Bathſheba* or *Uriah*, or his People, he could not but expreſs himſelf to God as he did, *Againſt Thee only have I ſinned*: to ſhew by that Confeſſion, that it was God with whom he was principally concern'd; and that it was of him that he was chiefly to beg Pardon; and that it was from him alone that he could obtain it, ſince he alone could only forgive him, and reſtore Peace to his Soul, and Tranquility to his Conſcience.

I could tell you moreover, that men may in ſome meaſure make amends for Tranſgreſſions committed againſt their Neighbour, but not for Offences committed againſt their Creator. If one man have *committed an offence againſt another, a Reconciliation may be made; but if a man have ſinned againſt God, who ſhall be his Judge?* So that *David* had great reaſon to ſay, He had ſinned againſt God only.

I might ſay in the third place, That tho' the Prophet was willing to obſerve that tho' he were abſolv'd by men; that tho' his People had forgiven him; that tho' no body could reproach him for the Murder and Adultery which he had committed; that tho' to flatter him, and allay his Grief, his Courtiers might endeavour to excuſe his Crimes, nevertheleſs that he did not believe himſelf to be really Abſolved, unleſs God himſelf pardoned him, and therefore it was that he addreſſes himſelf only to him.

Laſtly, I might ſay, with ſeveral of the ancient Writers, that tho' that *David* had offended men, nevertheleſs he lookt upon himſelf as not having otherwiſe

wiſe offended them, then as God was the only Witneſs of his Crimes. For, Sir, you muſt not think that *David* debauch'd *Uriah*'s Wife in the ſight of all the People. A wiſe Prince may ſometimes forget him, but he always takes care of being publickly obſerved. He knows that the Miſcarriages of a Prince are like the Eccliplſes of the Sun; that they come to the knowledge of all the World, and therefore he hides himſelf in a Cloud, when he gives himſelf over to his pleaſure; we muſt not judge of the Conduct of a King of *Judah* by that of *Lewis* the XIV.

But I need not ſo many Arguments. I am perſwaded, Sir, that this ſame Maxim, that gives ſo much liberty to King's, without the fear of Controul, cannot but offend you; and indeed, it is your Intereſt to be offended at it. For otherwiſe the *Bourbons* would be the greateſt Uſurpers in Nature. For that then it would be true that the People of *France* had no lawful Authority to exclude the Duke of *Lorrain* from the Succeſſion, how undeſerving ſoever he might be.

We muſt allow that the greateſt Po

liticians are not always to be followed; their Politicks are often Politicks of Intereſt. Their principal Aim is to court thoſe Princes from whom they expect Rewards. On the other ſide, Princes are willing enough to be flattered; yet there is a Law that flows from Nature, which they cannot violate without looſing the Quality of a King: and this Law is the Safety of the People. Kings are their Fathers and their Paſtors, as the Ancients call them. And at the very ſame moment that they ceaſe to be Fathers, or become incapable of being ſo, the People ought to Depoſe them, and elect others in their rooms. A Tyrant, a Mad-man, a weak and ſimple Prince, are no way fit to govern a Kingdom. If *Lewis* the XIV. be guilty of any one of theſe Defects, you muſt acknowledge, Sir, that he ought to be deprived of the Government. Now that he is guilty of them altogether, is no difficult thing to prove.

For as to the firſt Head, Sir, there needs no more but to take a view of his whole Life ever ſince his Minority. For never any Prince exerciſed a more tyrannick

tyrannick Power than he has done. His miraculous and unexpected Birth gave occasion to *France* to conceive that Heaven, favourable to her prayers and wishes, had sent her a Restorer. But she has had the misfortune to find, that if Heaven gave her a King, it was in its Anger. The *French* (or *Franks*) have but little cause to flatter themselves with bearing a Name that denotes their being a free people, when they are such slaves, as we see them to be, under the Reign of their King *Lewis* the XIV. For what rank or condition of men is there in the Kingdom, that can brag of any priviledges? No, no, *France* is truly in Chains.

I will not speak of the Aboliſhing of the *States General*, in which Assemblies our People had a Right to Depose and Elect their Kings; to appoint them Regents and Tutors; to nominate and recommend to the higheſt Trusts in the Kingdom; to enact Levies and Impositions of Taxes; to make Laws, and redress all Abuses that were crept into the Government. This was a Liberty which was wrested from them by *Lewis* the XIII. when Cardinal *Richlieu* had

the ſole Government of that Monarch. For it was the Policy of that Miniſter to extinguiſh the very memory of the *States General*, if it were poſſible, as being the only Obſtruction to abſolute Royal Authority. And in that he acted only for the ſupport of his own Intereſt. For I had forgot to tell you, that he aſpir'd to the Crown, and caus'd *Lewis* the XIII. to be poyſon'd with a ſlowly-operating Poyſon, if we may belive what ſome Writers do ſay.

However, I do not abſolutely accuſe that King, for having raviſh'd this *Liberty* from the People; ſince it was properly the Maſter-piece of him that reigned under the Reign of his Maſter, and ruled like a perfect Tyrant. Nevertheleſs, I may truly ſay in this Caſe, That the King is not altogether exempt from Tyranny. For if the Aſſembling of the *States General* be a Right and Priviledge due to the People of *France*; how comes it to paſs, that being abſolute, he would never ſummon any of theſe Aſſemblies? He was oblig'd, as a true King, to have return'd all things into their proper Channel,

nel, and to have reſtor'd to the People the Franchiſes which had been uſurped from them in the preceding Reign. For in ſhort, he that approves the Tyranny, is no leſs a Tyrant, than he that exerciſes it.

I muſt confeſs there were ſubſtituted in the room of theſe *General States*, thoſe things which you call *Parliaments*. Which at firſt indeed had ſome ſhadow of the Authority of the former.

For at their firſt Inſtitution, they had power to judge the Peers and Grandees of the Kingdom: They gave the Oaths to ſuch as were advanc'd to Places of higheſt Truſt; they had the power to verifie the King's Edicts, and to prevent their being in force, unleſs they were verified by them. In a word, they had power to withſtand the Will of the Prince, if his Will were unjuſt. But now theſe Courts have nothing of Soveraignty but the Title. The Members that compoſe them are a ſort of Illuſtrious Slaves, by nothing elſe diſtinguiſhed by the common ſort, but by their Purple. They blindly ſubmit to all that comes from the Court. And if there be any Men of Integrity, that

ſtand up at any time in reſiſtance of the Court, for the Liberty of the People, they are either put out of their Places, or ignominiouſly ſent away to the farther end of ſome Province, where they are either condemned to Death or perpetual Impriſonment, as Rebels and Refractories.

Now the Grandees of the Kingdom acknowledge no other than the King, who Judges and Sentences them as he pleaſes by his Commiſſioners. They are ſworn only by the King to their Allegiance, when they are preferr'd to any conſiderable Employment. And as for the Verification of the King's Edicts, that Priviledge was altogether diſannull'd in the Reign of *Lewis* the XIV. The Verifications at this day are meerly Notifications, as has been well obſerv'd by a great Enemy of the *French* Tyranny. For all the King's Declarations and Edicts are only Regiſtred in the Parliaments, meerly to give the Subjects notice what is the Will of the Prince. If they happen to refuſe to Regiſter them, the King ſends them a new Command, and they muſt obey. Neither is it

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permitted them under this King to make any Remonſtrances: which was a kind of ſhadow of Liberty, which, till of late, was never taken from them. But ſhould they now Remonſtrate, it would be a Crime that *Lewis* would never forgive them.

Theſe Soveraign Courts, which were the Ramparts of the People's Freedom, and oppoſed the King's Decrees, when they found them to be unjuſt, tremble at the ſight of a ſingle Letter under the King's Signet, or an Order of an *Intendant*. Nay, the King has ſo far advanc'd his Deſpotick Power, that a Parliament dares not put to Death a Criminal, for whom the Court has any kindneſs, nor pronounce innocent and honeſt Man, that is diſguſted at Court. We have ſeen of late, in the Caſe of the Proteſtants and their Members, that Father *la Chaiſe* made all the Decrees that were given out againſt them: and thoſe poor People ſometimes adventured to make it out, that they were no way Guilty of the Crimes that were laid to their Charge. Nevertheleſs, they were condemned for all that. And when they prov'd

before their Judges that their Sentences were unjuſt, and that their Judges many times ingeniouſly confeſſed them ſo to be, yet they as ingeniouſly acknowledged that they had an Order from above, which they durſt not diſobey; and that it was not in the power of the Parliaments, either to do, or not to do Juſtice. So that the King has moſt exactly executed the Cardinals Maxim to *Lewis* the XIII. That it was a Thing of great Importance to prevent his Officers of Juſtice from encroaching upon the Royal Authority: In regard, that if he once gave them the Rains, he would never afterwards be able to reſtrain them within the Limits of their Duty.

What are the Eſtates that aſſemble every year in certain Provinces? They conſiſt of Biſhops, Lords, and the Mayors and Sheriffs of the moſt conſiderable Cities, who are entirely at the King's Devotion; and dare not ſtand up for the Rights and Priviledges of the People, for fear of being turned out, and debarr'd for ever entrance into any of thoſe Grand Aſſemblies. There they formerly were wont

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to debate, whether they ſhould make a Preſent to the King, or no; and their Suffrages were free, to vote according to the Dictates of their own Conſciences. When the Thing was concluded, 'twas neceſſary the King ſhould be preſent, and they agreed upon a Sum, which was call'd a *Free Gift*, becauſe they were at liberty to grant, or not to grant it. Sometimes they were whole Weeks together before they could agree upon the Sum, which at length was aſcertained; and if the People were not overcharged, yet the King was to reſt ſatisfied. Now the Face of things is quite altered. The *Free Gift* is a *forc'd Gift*. The King demands what he pleaſes, and tho' the Sums be never ſo exceſſive, they muſt be granted him. For who would willingly be baniſh'd, or incur the diſfavour of a Prince, who will not be contradicted, and puniſhes thoſe ſorts of Crimes, as if they were Treaſons or Conſpiracies againſt his Perſon. If the Biſhops were now what they were in the times of the Apoſtles, they would laugh at the Court, and ſide with their Sheep that confided in them. But theſe Shepherds

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are too Politick to run the *Risco* of looſing their Rents: They are under the King's yoke, and they are always the chief Supports of Tyranny.

The People in general are ſo overloaden with Taxes over all the Provinces of the Kingdom, they are ſo poor, ſo miſerable, that the Condition to which they are reduced is the ſubject of all Foreigners Pity. They compare thoſe afflicted People to the Subjects of the *Ottoman* Princes, and wonder they do not attempt to ſet themſelves at liberty. In a word, they are overwhelmed with Taxes, loaden with an infinite number of Impoſts; they are made to pay *Free Gifts*, and ſuch intollerable Tolls, that theſe Oppreſſions of themſelves were enough to reduce them to utter Beggary. But this is not all; they make them labour without any Salary in the publick Works, they force them to the Wars againſt their wills; they ſet them to Guard the Frontiers, and quarter the Souldiers upon them in the *Winter* to compleat their Ruin.

I know well that the Politicians agree, that if the People lived at their eaſe, it would be impoſſible to keep them

them within the bounds of their Duty. They agree, that if they ſhould not be laden with Taxes and Subſidies, they would by little and little loſe the remembrance of their Condition, and think of nothing but withdrawing their Obedience from their Prince. And I know that ſome Princes have loſt their Dominions for not having Forces ſufficient in Pay, to preſerve themſelves, for fear of overcharging the People; and that ſeveral Subjects have become the Slaves of their Enemies for deſiring too much Liberty under their Lawful Soveraign. So that the People are to be compared to Carriage-Horſes, which being accuſtomed to Burthens, are injur'd more by long Repoſe than by continual Travel; and yet they are not to be over-loaded, but their Burthens muſt be proportionable to their ſtrength. There ought to be a *Medium* obſerved, and a ſtop to be made at ſuch a Point, beyond which it would be a great piece of Injuſtice to paſs, and no leſs to the prejudice of the Peoples Intereſt. But this is not the King's Maxim; his Maxim is, to keep the People poor, and to this purpoſe

poſe he has ſo impoveriſhed his Subjects that they are all Beggars.

There is no Kingdom in the World wherein there are ſo many great Cities as in *France*: And the greateſt part of theſe Villages enjoy'd an infinite number of Priviledges, which equall'd them to the Free Imperial Cities of *Germany*. They had their Revenues which the King could not touch. They were exempt from Taxes of all ſorts of Impoſts, except ſuch as they impos'd upon themſelves when Neceſſity, when the welfare of the Kingdom required it. And laſtly, they were the Refuge of the People when they were Oppreſs'd. But theſe Cities have loſt all their Priviledges. The King has ſeiz'd upon the greateſt part of their Revenues. If he exempts them from Tolls, he makes them pay ſuch exceſſive Subſidies, that they ſink under the Burthen. And he has ſo bridled them with Forts and Citadels, that there is now no longer any ſhelter againſt Tyranny, only when the poor People are under Perſecution, they muſt take the ſad choice of voluntary

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Baniſhment, and ſeeking for Sanctuary in Foreign Kingdoms.

How are they us'd that have the Adminiſtration of the Grand Affairs? They are advanced to be depreſs'd. And thô that generally they are enrich'd in their Employments by the Gratifications which they receive from the King, in conſideration of their good Services, yet many times they are Accuſed for having robb'd the Exchequer: And whether it be true or falſe, their Eſtates are preſently confiſcated, and their Perſons rendred as miſerable, as they were opulent before.

I know very well, there are ſome Officers of the *Finances*, that grow Rich to the prejudice of Orphans and Widows, and to the prejudice of the King himſelf: And I grant, Sir, that when they are Legally convicted, they are treated like Leeches, which they rub with Salt to make them vomit back all the blood which they have ſuckt, or Spunges that are ſqueez'd, to return the Juyce which they have drain'd up. But the King makes no Diſtinction. To be rich is ſufficient to

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be a Criminal; or to be ſo thought at Court, is a Crime not to be pardoned.

There muſt be a Reſtitution of what they have got, and ſometimes of what they never had; and ſo they muſt end their days, either in Exile, or in a *Dungeon*.

It may be ſaid, and that truly too, that the King has deſpoil'd, and every day does deſpoyle an infinite number of honeſt People, when done him thoſe Services which he ought never to forget, tho' perhaps he might find ſome defect in the Conduct of his Miniſters. But one of the principal Characters of a *Tyrant* is Ingratitude. And it may be ſaid of *Lewis* the XIV. what is uſually ſaid of Fortune, That many times ſhe takes from her Minions the Favors which ſhe had before in plenty beſtowed upon them.

I could produce many Examples upon this Subject, but I ſhall only mention that of Monſieur *Fouquet*.

This ſame Superintendant of the Finances had a large and generous Soul, and had he been of any other Profeſſion than that of the Long Robe, his noble Qualities would have been

been more visible to the World. But Cardinal *Mazarine* had conceiv'd an Aversion against him, for that being Advocate-General of the Parliament, he could not endure to hear that Body, of which he had the Honour to be one of the principal Members, evil spoken of.

He had told him however, that there were in the Parliament, Persons that he could wish were not there. But this satisfaction being not large enough for an *Italian* that will resent a small Occasion as long as he lives, therefore the Cardinal, who was very effeminate, and durst not shew his disgust, in his life time, upon his Death-bed told the King, that such a Person liv'd upon the waste of his Treasure, but appropriated them also to his own Use; that his Houses exceeded most of the King's Palaces, for beauty of Structure, and magnificence of the Furniture: That he gave Pensions to several persons at Court, which was a shrew'd sign that he knew himself Guilty; that he fortified *Belle Isle*, a place which he had purchas'd from the House of *Gondy*, a place adjoyning to the Territories of the

the *Engliſh*, with whom he was afraid he held a Correſpondence. That the only way to pluck up theſe Inconveniences by the Root, was to ſecure ſo dangerous a Perſon: However, that the King ſhould be careful what he did, while he was Advocate-General, for that then the Parliament would be his Judges, and without doubt acquit him; and that he ſhould therefore ſo order his buſineſs, that the Thing ſhould be put in Execution before he had the leaſt ſuſpicion of it.

Thus went Cardinal *Mazarine* into the other World, a true *Italian* to his laſt gaſp: for a little before he expired, he had embrac'd Monſieur *Fouquet*, as one of his beſt Friends: he had numbred up to him a thouſand Kindneſſes, which the Superintendant had done him, in the time of the Civil Wars, and thank'd him particularly for the Fifty thouſand Crowns which he ſent him, at the time he was forced to fly to *Liege*.

However the King took no great heed of what the Cardinal told him. For indeed, what a likely thing it was Monſieur *Fouquet* ſhould hold private Corre-

Correſpondencies with the *Engliſh*, who were then in a ſtrict Friendſhip with *France*, and that he ſhould think of betraying his Country, who was advanc'd to one of the higheſt Places of Profit, to which one of the Long Robe could aſpire.

Nevertheleſs the King was convinc'd that Monſieur *Fouquet* was very rich, and for that reaſon he determin'd his deſtruction, to the end he might ſeize upon his Eſtate. He kept this as a ſecret for ſome time; and when he declar'd his mind, 'twas only to Monſieur *Tellier*, whoſe Fidelity was well known to him, and to Monſieur *Colbert*, whom the *Cardinal* upon his Death-bed had recommended to him for his Chief Miniſter.

Theſe two Men, who were the Chief Miniſters of the King's Injuſtice, fail'd not to confirm him in his Deſign; but withal adviſ'd him, not to do any thing, till he had put Monſieur *Fouquet*, out of his place of *Advocate General*, or force him to lay it down.

Wanting therefore a pretence to engage Monſieur *Fouquet* to anſwer their Deſires, *Colbert* inſinuates into his head,

head, that having ſuch a multiplicity of Buſineſs at the Council, which indeed lay all upon his ſhoulders, ſince the death of the Cardinal, he would do well to quit his Affairs in Parliament, which it was impoſſible for him to look after as he ought to do. And to lull him the more eaſily a-ſleep, the King lookt upon him with a more Gracious Aſpect than ever he had done before. So that Monſieur *Fouquet* falling into the Snare, ſaught for a Merchant for his Employment, which being the beſt that was in the Parliament, was contended for by all that had money enough to purchaſe it: and among the reſt, Monſieur *de Foubet* offer'd ſixteen hundred thouſand Livers. But Monſieur *Fouquet* choſe rather to ſurrender it to Monſieur *de Harlay*, who was one of his Friends, thô he gave him Two hundred thouſand Franks leſs.

Thus he had no ſooner laid down his Employment, but the King caus'd him to be arreſted. And becauſe they were afraid leaſt he ſhould find a way to juſtifie himſelf, in regard the Crimes alledg'd againſt him were only Chimeri-

merical, they were not only contented with hiring falſe Witneſſes to ſwear dreadful things againſt him, but they took away from him all his Papers that could any way have ſerv'd him to juſtifie his Innocency. Nor was this all, for the King, who was reſolv'd to ruine him at any rate, employ'd *Colbert*, to pick and cull out of all the Parliaments, ſuch Judges as he thought were moſt devoted to his Service, to examine Monſieur *Fouquets* Charge, and to Judge him. To which purpoſe they were promiſed Rewards, and the King thought himſelf ſo Cockſure of Monſieur *Fouquet*'s Death, that he had already commanded his Horſe-Guard to be ready to attend him to *Chartres*. A Journey which he had premeditated, not out of Devotion, but to avoid the Importunities with which he foreſaw he ſhould be troubled in the behalf of that unfortunate Miniſter. For tho' Monſieur *Fouquet* were of no extraordinary or illuſtrious Deſcent, he had married one of his Daughters to the eldeſt Son of the Count of *Charoſt*, and the King was afraid of that Ladies throwing herſelf at his Feet.

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To be ſhort, the Commiſſioners met and examined the buſineſs. But while the King, who was booted and ſpurr'd, and ready to take Horſe, expected they ſhould bring him News of the Priſoners being condemn'd, word was brought him, That the Judges had been more merciful. 'Tis true, there were ſome that would have condemn'd him to the Scaffold, according to the King's Orders; but others oppos'd ſo great a piece of Injuſtice, and they prevail'd.

Among the reſt, one of the Commiſſioners who was a Counſellor in the Parliament of *Aix*, perceiving the greateſt part of the Judges no way inclin'd to do Monſieur *Fouquet* Juſtice, ſtood up and told them: He was extreamly ſurpriz'd, that there ſhould be Men ſo much prejudiced in the Chamber, as to condemn a Man to Death, without examining beforehand, whether their Sentence were juſt or no. He ſhew'd them the weakneſs of the Proofs to convince the Priſoner of Treaſon. That if his Papers had not been taken from him by his Enemies, he might have found a way

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perhaps to have juſtified himſelf, as to that point. However it was certain, that he had clear'd himſelf of the Charge of Bribery and Extortion, which they pretended he was guilty of: That he had made appear the Condition of his Eſtate when he firſt entred into the Miniſtry; what he had with his Wife, which was above a Million; what Penſions had been beſtow'd on him, and what other Advantages he had had to get Money: Notwithſtanding all which, he had not only ſpent all, but was above two Millions in debt. So that they could not make him a Criminal becauſe of his great Expences, ſince he had an Eſtate to ſpend without doing any wrong to his Majeſty; and beſides, that it appear'd, that he was ruin'd in his Majeſties Service.

The greateſt part of the Commiſſioners wonder'd not ſo much at the freedom and boldneſs which the Counſellor us'd in his Speech, but that he durſt oppoſe the King's pleaſure, ſince he knew how eagerly he ſought the Superintendant's Death. Nevertheleſs, the good Example of one honeſt Man,

Man wrought ſuch a Change in the Chamber, that they who ſpoke after the *Counſeller*, agreed with him in Opinion, and they that were for putting *Fouquet* to Death before, then alter'd theirs. Nevertheleſs, becauſe it is certain that Monſieur *Fouquet* had fortified *Belle Iſle* of his own Head, without leave from the King, he was condemned to perpetual Baniſhment.

But the King, who was extreamly ſurpriz'd at this unexpected Sentence, believing that if he ſhould get out of his reach, he would write in his own Juſtification, changed the Sentence of Baniſhment into perpetual Impriſonment, which was worſe than Death it ſelf. Firſt therefore he was thrown into the Dungeon of *Vincennes*, and after that carried to *Pigneroll*, where he lay ſeventeen years, the moſt miſerable of Men. But as terrible as that Priſon was, it prov'd a happy Priſon to him: For there he had leiſure to repent him of his ſins, which he had not at Court, which was at that time given over to all manner of Debaucherry, the Great-men ſtill believing themſelves oblig'd to imitate their Prince, tho'

tho' never ſo diſſolute and luxurious.

Regis ad exemplum totus componitur Orbis.

In truth, he had liv'd in the Priſon like a real Penitent: he made the place of his Puniſhment a Houſe of Meditation and Prayer: There he learnt to draw off his Soul from the World; and thinking upon nothing in that miſerable place but upon Eternity, he lookt upon his paſt Proſperity as a great Obſtacle to his Salvation, ſo that he would not have exchanged his Priſon for all the Kingdoms in the World.

I thought fit, Sir, to let you underſtand a Story, of which I was aſſured you were altogether ignorant. For I have always heard you talking of Monſieur *Fouquet*, as of a Miniſter that had conſpired againſt his Majeſty, and had enrich'd himſelf by robbing the Kingdom. Believe me, Sir, his pretended Riches were his Misfortune, and had like to have brought him to an Infamous Death. He was a Man of Vertue and Honour, and had not the Government been Tyrannical, they would have erected Statues to his Memory, he

had ſo well merited of the Commonwealth, to ſpeak in the Language of ancient *Rome*.

You will ſay perhaps, Sir, That Monſieur *Fouquet* was no more than one of the Long Robe, and that the reſt that were ſerv'd after the ſame manner under the Reign of *Lewis* the *Great*, were only under Receivers, and Toll-gatherers: Fellows not thought worth the hanging, as being of mean and obſcure Birth. In a word, that thoſe Officers, being a ſort of neceſſary Evils, and odious to the People, it is no great matter what becomes of 'em; and that it is good policy ſometimes to fetch them down from the top of the Wheel whither Fortune has raiſed them, to make advantage of their ill-got Wealth.

But what, Sir, will you conclude from hence? Let an Exciſe-man or a Toll-gather be never ſo mean, he ought to be puniſh'd when he is Guilty, and has devour'd the People. But let his Birth be never ſo obſcure, if he have diſcharg'd his Duty like an honeſt Man, is an abominable piece of Tyranny to rob him of his Eſtate. 'Tis the Law of Nature, that every man ought to enjoy his

his own; and 'tis a ſin to violate this Law.

But we have done with Monſieur *Fouquet*, and the Officers of the Revenue. I do not find but they who are much higher in degree, are better or more kindly uſed than thoſe ordinary ſort of people. The ſame Tyranny reaches the very Princes of the Blood. For not to ſay any thing of that *Hero* the Prince of *Condé*, whom the King confin'd to *Chantilly*, becauſe he would not give him an Employment in his Army; ſuch Policies admitting Excuſes for Reaſons which all the World knows not; how does the King uſe ſeveral other Princes that never gave him any occaſion of diſtruſt. He ſuffers them to live a lazy and private Life: he would never permit them to appear upon any occaſion wherein they might ſignalize themſelves. If they are deſirous to try their Courages, they muſt be forc'd to travel into *Hungary*, whither his Majeſty will or no. Which prov'd fatal to the Prince of *Conty*, who was poiſon'd at his Return as moſt People believ'd. He has depriv'd them, and excluded them from Employments that were almoſt Hereditary to

their Families, to beſtow them upon Baſtards. How do they uſe both you and Madam the *Dauphineſs* your illuſtrious Spouſe? You know it well enough, there is no need of telling you. And it may give credit to what is publickly talk'd abroad, Madam the *Dauphineſs* has not long to live. The Nobility, which were formerly the Ornament and Strength of the Kingdom, are now under a diminution that renders them the Scorn of the Earth. And beſides, that they are reduc'd to ſo ſmall a number, they are reduced to ſuch an extream Poverty, that 'tis impoſſible they ſhould long ſubſiſt.

There are ſome Provinces where the Gentlemen go to Plough and Cart; and there are others who are forc'd to marry below themſelves, to prevent their own ſtarving in their Caſtles, or the being oblig'd to meaner Condeſcenſions. 'Tis true, there are ſome Gentlemen whom their riotous Expences have impoveriſh'd; but generally 'tis the Tyrannical Government, and Oppreſſion of the People, that cauſes theſe Diſorders, to the reproach of *France*. Formerly the Nobility enjoy'd

ſeveral

ſeveral Priviledges, and were exempted from Taxes, Subſidies, and Impoſts. Now 'tis, All Fellows at Foot-ball, as to that point. A Lord pays the ſame Duties as the meaneſt Vaſſal, and an Intendant of a Province, who ſometimes happens to be one of the Drags of the People, will uſe them with the higheſt degree of Pride and Contempt. The Title of Noble is but a word, and there are only ſome few new Gentlemen that derive their Original from the Publick Revenue, that dare aſpire to Military Employments, becauſe they have wherewithal to purchaſe them. An ancient Nobleman, who ſhall have ſignaliz'd himſelf a thouſand times by his Courage and Gallantry, who has receiv'd ſeveral Wounds, and ſpent his Patrimony in the Service, ſhall dye a Lieutenant, or a Captain of Foot or Dragoons, while the Son of a Subſidy-Gatherer ſhall ride at the Head of a Regiment, or ſome other conſiderable Employment. What reſpect is there ſhow'd to the Gentry? No, no more then for the Common Rabble. If they have happen'd at any time to have wrong'd their Vaſſals, there is an Ex-

traordinary Seſſion appointed by Commiſſion, called the *Grands-Jours*, to chaſtize them; and theſe dreadful Chambers are always fatal to ſome conſiderable Family or other. And you, Sir, have ſeen ſome Perſons of eminent Degree, who have loſt their Heads upon Scaffolds for being accus'd, in imitation of the King, to ſet up for petty Tyrants in their Inheritances.

What more crying piece of Injuſtice was there, than the Enquiry after *Falſe Nobles*? How many real Gentlemen were there, who becauſe they could not produce their Pedigrees, which they might looſe by a thouſand Accidents, were conſtrained to renounce their Nobility, and pay a hundred and thirteen *Livres*, which was their forfeiture.

I know that all that call themſelves Noblemen, are not ſo; and that the moſt part of thoſe that aſſume this Title, ground it upon their Merit: and what can be more unjuſt, than to wreſt their honour out of their hands? Is not that true Nobility, Sir, that is atchieved by Feats of Arms? Their Courage has acquir'd what their Birth refus'd them.

Why

Why ſhould they be depriv'd of an Honour which they have merited by their Services? Stay till they have render'd themſelves unworthy, and then let them be degraded. But the King would fain tyrannize over all the World. And this blind Paſſion reigns ſo ſtrongly in him, that are moſt neceſſary for his Service, and who ought to be regarded as the ſupport of the Kingdom.

Formerly the Officers and Souldiers enriched themſelves by being in the Army, or at leaſt they could ſubſiſt in a comfortable manner: A younger Brother, who was of a reduc'd Family, had Bread to eat as long as he liv'd, if he could but get a Command, either by his own Merit, or the aſſiſtance of his Friends: It was the ſame thing with the Common Souldier. But in this Man's Reign, there is no more of that. They that have any Eſtate, ſpend it in his Majeſties Service. If the Souldiers will live, they put their Hoſts to ranſome their Goods. And which is more tyrannical, the Officers and Souldiers are forc'd to commit ſuch infamous Actions, and ſo unbe-

coming Gentlemen Souldiers, that future Ages will hardly believe, that People wearing Swords by their ſides, ſhould have ſuch daſtardly Souls, as not to ſhake off the Yoke of a Prince that never employs them, for whole Campaigns together, but to do the Offices of Hangmen, Robbers and Houſe burners.

I ſhould but give you too much trouble, Sir, to make a long Recital of theſe things. The King ſpares no body. He has exercis'd his Tyranny over the Proteſtants, who were his moſt faithful Subjects, and ſet the Crown upon his Head, as they did upon the Heads of *Henry* the IV. and *Lewis* the XIII. He has recall'd their Edicts, thô he ſolemnly ſwore at his Coronation to obſerve and maintain them inviolable. And uſurping the Rights of God himſelf, who is the ſole Lord of Hearts and Conſciences, and who in that reſpect, parts with his Honour to no Mortal. He has oblig'd them by force to embrace a Religion which they believe to be falſe and idolatrous; conſtraining them by that means to prophane our moſt Sacred Myſteries,

by

by how much the more he cauſes them to condemn and renounce them. For he that makes Profeſſion of a Religion againſt his Conſcience, commits the moſt horrid of all Crimes, thô the Religion which he profeſt were ſincerely the only True Religion: *For what is not of Faith, is ſin:* That is, whatever is not done according to Conſcience is an offence againſt God.

He has exercis'd his Tyranny over the moſt holy Party of the Church over thoſe Diſciples of St. *Auſtin*, who live ſuch pious and exemplary lives. For thoſe holy Fathers grounding their Doctrine upon the words of the Apoſtles, *It is better to obey God than men:* would not ſubſcribe to a *Formulary*, which was a kind of Oath, which they could not in Conſcience take. He has therefore deſpoil'd them of their Churches, has exil'd them, or ſhut them up in dark Priſons, where they ſtarve to Death, or ſuffer the Extremities of Miſeries. He has no regard for the moſt pious Virgins, under pretence that they were *Janſeniſts*, and refus'd to deny, that the Grace of *Jeſus Chriſt* was ſufficient of itſelf.

This Prince, a Rebel to the *Church*, has extended a Supreme Power, as well over the Biſhops, as over all Religious Houſes. You know the buſineſs of the *Regale*, (or Patronage of Biſhops) and the Nuns of *Santa Clara*, commonly called *Urbaniſts*. And to carry his Tyranny to the higheſt degree, he has quarrell'd with the Vicar of Chriſt, whom we ought to look upon as a God upon Earth. Why do ye not Excommunicate him, Holy Father? Why do you not ſtrike him with the Terrour of your Anathema's? Why do you not dart upon his Head all the Thunder of the *Vatican*? You are but the Image of a Pope, in reſpect of the *Gallican Church*. *Lewis* the Great, the Moſt Chriſtian King makes you inferiour to Councils, and declares you ſubject to Errour, thô you ought to be Infallible, if you are St. *Peter*'s Succeſſor, and that the Catholick Church be the Spouſe of Jeſus Chriſt. And yet there needs no more, then for your Children to have recourſe to you, to incur the Indignation of this Prince, and to be dealt withal in the ſame manner as Hereticks.

In

In a word, Sir, if the Biſhops of *Paniers*, and *D'Alet* were expos'd to the extremity of Perſecution, it was becauſe they addreſs'd themſelves to the *Holy See*, to the end the Pope might make uſe of his Authority to maintain the Priviledges of the Church. And for the ſame reaſon it was, that he ſo barbarouſly us'd the Congregation of *Nuns*, I mean the *Nuns* of the *Enfance*, or *Infancy*.

The Society of *Nuns*, call'd, The *Nuns of the Infancy of Jeſus Chriſt*, was inſtituted at *Tholouſe*, in the Year 1662, by the Authority of *M. de Marca*, Arch-biſhop of that place, and under the Government of M. *de Ciron*, Canon and Chancellor of that Church and Univerſity; by whoſe Advice Madam *de Mondonville*, a Widow of great Piety became the Foundreſs of the Society, and for the Maintenance of it, left them the beſt part of her Eſtate: The Employment of theſe Nuns was to educate young Girles in the knowledge of the Duties to which they were oblig'd by their Baptiſm; and in other Vertuous Exerciſes: They were alſo to teach them to Read and Write, and work

work with their Needles. This Inſtitution which could not but be lookt upon as a thing very praiſe worthy, was approv'd by the whole Church, and confirm'd by a Bull of *Alexander* the VII. But all this ſignified nothing. For becauſe the King had not inſtituted this Order, he reſolv'd to ruin it: and Madam *Mondonville*, becauſe ſhe addreſs'd herſelf to the *Holy See*, was ſent to a Priſon, where ſhe ſtill remains.

Laſtly, Sir, the King does not only exerciſe his Tyranny with leſs rigour over thoſe without, than over his natural Subjects. 'Tis the Cuſtom of Conquerors to have ſome regard for the People whom they have newly conquer'd. And indeed, thó it were no piece of Juſtice to make them ſatisfaction by ſome kind of Lenity, for the Ravage committed upon their Lands before they could be ſubdu'd, yet there is ſomething of Policy that requires it. Nevertheleſs, both *Catalogne*, *Flanders*, *Franche Conté*, and *Alſatia* have experienced the contrary. Thoſe Countries groan under their Bondage, and are ſo weary of their Yoke

Yoke, that they only wait the happy Moment of their Delivery, and Reſtoration to the Dominion of their Lawful Soveraigns.

The Fourth Diſcourſe.

SIR,

I Have proved by Actions, which are onely too true, that the Government of *France* is wholly tyrannical, whether in reſpect of Spirituals or Temporals. Of which I could bring farther proofs of thoſe which I have brought already, were not theſe unhappily more than ſufficient.

But this is not all, Sir; it remains that I prove to you, that the Tyranny which he exerciſes in this Kingdom, is the moſt cruel that ever was heard of. In a word, I am now to prove, That the King is a Mad-man of a Tyrant; and I am ſure you muſt yield to what I ſay.

What

What could I not tell you, if I would make a recital of all those unheard of Hostilities which he has committed during this last War, particularly in the Principality of *Orange* and *Germany*. What a dreadful *Landskip* could I present to your eyes, if I should speak of the Persecution of the *Jansenists*; more especially if I would enlarge upon the Torment, unknown to *Phalaris* or *Busiris*, which he has invented to punish those that run from his Colours? I could shew you whole Cities laid in Ashes; People expos'd to the rage and fury of the Souldiers; Women and Virgins ravish'd; old Men and tender Infants expiring in the flames; Prisons fill'd with Priests, and infinite numbers of poor Wretches in Cains, some with their Noses, some with their Ears cut off, after they had exposed their Lives a thousand times for the most ingrateful of Princes.

This last Prospect, I am sure, strikes you with horror: For certainly, Sir, a more dismal Prospect cannot be conceived. Thus to disfigure the Image of God! to make of a Man a hideous Monster! to dismember a Christian,

and

and it may be one deſign'd for Heaven! 'Tis an Accumulation of madneſs, rage, and barbarity altogether.

What ſhall I ſay after all this? I will begin with the Proteſtant. What wrong had thoſe People done the King? Had they not been always faithful to him? That was not their Crime, Sir; for we muſt acknowledge to the ſhame of our Religion, that while the greateſt part of the Catholicks ſided with the Princes in the laſt Civil Wars, that ſtood always firm to the King: and it was only to them that the King was beholding for his Crown. That which made them Criminals was, that they would not turn Catholicks, and that they would not yield him Obedience by changing their Religion. And yet they did all they could to let him underſtand that they ſhould act againſt their Conſciences, if they ſhould abandon their Conſciences, and the Doctrines of their Reformation; nevertheleſs, the King would have it ſo. And becauſe they refus'd to obey his Orders, tho' with all the reſpect imaginable, his Fury kindled againſt them. There was neither Age nor Sex, neither Merit nor Quali-

Quality, that was ſpared at that time. He let looſe his *Dragoons* upon them. He ſet up Villains and Robbers to be their Converters; and like another *Mahomet*, he made uſe of Fire and Sword to force them to receive his Doctrine.

With what Colours ſhall I draw the hideous Picture of theſe abominable Converſions, at which the *Holy See* trembles to this day, and which have drawn ſo many tears from the eyes of all real *Catholicks?* So ſoon as this Implacable Prince underſtood that his Proteſtant Subjects had return'd a generous Anſwer, That they would dye in their Religion, becauſe they believ'd it to be the Truth; and that bating only this point, they would ſacrifice their Lives for his Honour; he gave order to his Converters to thunder into all the Provinces that abounded with the *Religionaries*, and to make uſe of all means to force their Return to the Church. He let them know, that whatever it coſt him, he would have his Pleaſure put in Execution, and ſave them harmleſs from all the Barbarities whatever they committed.

There needed not half ſo much, Sir,

to

to animate a Company of Brutes, that never ſignalized themſelves for many years, but by their treacheries and infamous Actions. They forthwith haſtned to execute the barbarous Commands of their Cruel Monarch; neither was there any ſort of Inhumanity which thoſe Infernal Legions forgot to put in practiſe. I might ſwell whole Volumes with the Oppreſſions and Violences of theſe leud *Converters*, and the ſtrange and unheard of Torments which they invented to preach up the King's Religion.

They no ſooner entred into any City, but they ſeiz'd upon the Gates and all the Avenues, while others beat the Streets to ſtop the Fugitives, and bring them back to their Houſes, on purpoſe to force them, in ſpite of their Teeths, to hear the Sermons of theſe abominable Apoſtles.

They were quarter'd at diſcretion by order of the Intendants of the Province, and ſometimes of the Biſhops themſelves, to the ſhame of the Epiſcopal Dignity. And they no ſooner entred into any Houſe, but they fill it with moſt horrible Cries, accompanied with

a thouſand Blaſphemies. You would have ſaid, Sir, that they were ſo many Devils let looſe, and that they were broke out of Hell to make War upon Mankind. Neither Tears nor Submiſſions would move them. They hang'd both Men and Women by the feet, or hair of their Heads upon the planks of the Cieling, or Hooks in the Chimneys. They plung'd them into Wells, or into Sloughs full of mud and filth. They half roaſted them, and baſted their naked Limbs with melted Greaſe. They thruſt red hot Coals into the Palms of their Hands, then cloſed them by force. They poured Wine into their Bodies with Funnels. They blew them up with Bellows till their Bellies burſt. They tore the Hair from their Chins and Heads, and their Nails from their Fingers and Toes. They ſtript them naked, and after they had offered them a thouſand Indignities, they larded them with Pins from Head to foot. They pinkt and gaſh'd their Skins with Pen-knives, and ſometimes with red hot Pincers, nip'd the Fleſh from their Arms, or elſe took them by the Noſes, and ſo led them from room to room. Modeſty

Modeſty will not permit to tell the Ignominies that Women and Virgins were conſtrained to undergo. I ſhall only ſay that they raviſhed ſeveral, and ſome in the Preſence of their Huſbands and Fathers, whom they had tyed to the Bed-poſts.

I ſhould never have done, ſhould I relate the various ſorts of Torments which thoſe Infernal *Miſſionaries* invented to plant the Catholick Faith in the Hearts of the King's Subjects. They did thoſe things which perhaps the Devils themſelves would not have thought of. And when they found that thoſe whom they ſo tormented, endured all, they bethought themſelves at length how to make them mad, by hindring them from ſleep for whole weeks together. Rich and Poor, Men and Women, Young and Old, Sick and Sound, all without diſtinction, deeply experienced their Barbarity. While the King and his Confeſſor laught at their Inhumanities that drew ſo much Blood, and ſuch ſhowers of Tears from thoſe Religious People.

I confeſs, this new way of Converſion was infinitely more prevalent than the moſt Eloquent Sermons they could have preach'd. Nevertheleſs, it could not prevail upon a great number; and then it was that this ſame *Frantick* Monarch, who would have no Denyals, fill'd all the Cloyſters, Dungeons, Galleys, and the *new World* with infinite Multitudes of theſe miſerable Wretches, who in regard of the good Services they had done him, were worthy of a better Reward.

What was *France* all this while, but a Theater which Strangers beheld with dread and horror? The Hangmen were at work all hours: there was nothing to be ſeen but *Executions*; and they that dyed Rebels to the King's Orders, were dragg'd

drag'd along the *Streets*, to be a Spectacle to the People, and then thrown into the *Common Sewers*.

Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum.

No, Sir, it was not any Zeal for Religion that occaſion'd all theſe Deſolations; for Religion never thirſted after Blood. However, at the ſame time that the King was thus buſie in Converting his own Subjects, he prevented the Emperour from Converting his. For who can be ignorant of his ſtrict Confederacy at that time with the Male-contents in *Hungary*, who are all *Lutherans* or *Calviniſts*. But that will more clearly convince you than any thing elſe, that it was only an Impulſe of blind Fury, and hairbrain'd Phrenſie, to make himſelf ador'd as a God, that inſpir'd him to commit theſe Barbarities, was the Uſage of thoſe poor Nuns of the Infancy, already mentioned.

Madam *de Mondon Ville* the Foundreſs of that Religious Society, upon the firſt Rumours that prov'd but too true, that the King had a deſign to overthrow that pious Inſtitution, was adviſed to go to *Paris*, and throw herſelf at the King's Feet. Which Advice ſhe took forthwith, but to no purpoſe: For the King was always inacceſſible and at the ſame time that ſhe was importunate for Admiſſion, and was in hopes of obtaining it, ſhe was by virtue of a Letter under the Privy Signet, commanded to go to *Coutance*. There was no refuſing; ſhe obey'd; and immediately after her Exilement, the Councel by Decree aboliſhed the Foundation, and ordered the Nuns of the Infancy to go home to their Parents, or whither elſe they pleaſed.

I know not whether you will find the like in any

any Hiſtory. For a uſual piece of Injuſtice to condemn People in their abſence, before they be heard; but for a Lady of Quality, to come above a hundred and fifty Leagues, to throw herſelf at the King's Feet, and to be ſo barbarouſly us'd, is that for which there never was yet any Preſident to be found.

The Arreſt, or Decree was made the 12th of *May*, 1686, and fifteen days after was ſignified at *Tholouſe* to Madam *de Mondonville*, tho ſhe were then baniſh'd to the farther end of *Normandy*.

Nor was this all; for in regard the Tenor of the King's Decree was poſitive, *That the Tabernacles in the Churches of thoſe Nuns ſhould be remov'd, that the Altars ſhould be pull'd down, the Ornaments and Holy Utenſils carried away, and the Conſecrated Places be Prophan'd.* The ſame day that the Decree was Notified, the Chappel was pull'd down, as if it had been a Moſque, or ſome notorious Brothel-Houſe.

Nor did the King ſtop here. For whereas there was a Clauſe in the Decree, That all the Nuns of the Infancy might ſtay in their Nunneries till the end of the Year; yet he ſent down an Order to thoſe of *Tholouſe*, by which above Forty of the Nuns, who brought nothing to the Society, were commanded to depart immediately. To which purpoſe a Commiſſary, with a Guard of Souldiers was ſent to diſpoſſeſs them; but the Nuns being inform'd of it, hid themſelves ſo privately, that not above two or three of them were found, who were carried away, after ſeveral Abuſes offer'd them.

As for the reſt, ſome few days after the ſame Commiſſary had another Order, to take a Guard of Dragoons and Archers, and go and pull them out

out of the Houſe, who found them upon their knees upon the Ruines of their Chappel, imploring the aſſiſtance of Heaven. Nor could the Tears of thoſe pious Virgins, nor all their Sighs and Sobs, enough to mollifie the Hearts of the moſt Cruel, prevail with thoſe Miſcreants who were ſent to hale them from their Religious Reſidencies. Thoſe Emiſſaries of the Devil, which the King made uſe of to Convert the Hereticks, laid their polluted hands, upon the Spouſes of Jeſus Chriſt, dragg'd them by the Feet like miſerable Victims, beat them, tore them, and talk'd to 'em thoſe broad Obſcenities, enough to have made the moſt impudent of Proſtitutes bluſh.

Laſtly, Sir, ſome time after the ſame Violences were exercis'd upon the reſt of the Nuns that remain'd. And that which was more lamentable, and cries loudeſt to Heav'n for Vengeance, was this: That they haul'd two out of the Nunnery that were *Agoniſantes*, or in Swooning Fits. There was one that ſwooned away ſix times in the ſtreet, and when all the People cry'd out ſhame, the Souldiers anſwer'd, That the King's Orders were expreſs, that the Nuns were obſtinate, and the King muſt be obey'd. I ſhall ſay nothing of thoſe other Nunneries of this Inſtitution, in other Cities; their Deſtiny was the ſame; I paſs by alſo the Cruelties committed upon the Foundreſs of the Order, with an infinite number of other mad Actions, with which this King has defil'd his Government. I ſhall now ſhew you, Sir, that the King is a weak Prince.

You may think this hard to be done: becauſe the King has been always accounted a *Great Wit*: But I aſſure you, Sir, he has little deſerved that Title, as his Title of *Moſt Chriſtian King*.

Should

Should I go about to make a Hiſtory of the ſeveral Miſtreſſes he has had, that have ſhorten'd the Life of the Queen, that Great and Pious Princeſs, I could ſhew you ſuch Weakneſſes and Follies that few Men are guilty of. I could ſhew him to you upon his knees, crying and blubbering ſometimes at *La Valiere*'s Feet, ſometimes at the ſide of Madam *de Monteſpan*'s, or *Madamoſelle de Fontanges* Bed, to obtain thoſe Favours which others had obtain'd without any trouble, and of which they told ſuch Tales, that all the Court knew of. I could ſhew you the Copies of certain Letters, where you might ſee *Lewis* the *Grand* uttering thoſe little Things, as would grieve your heart to hear them. But pardon him the Imbecillities of his youthful Inclinations. The Women had thoſe Charms, that it is no wonder he ſhould forget himſelf ſometimes. *Hercules* ſpun for *Omphale*'s ſake; and you have read the Amours of Great Men. But what can you ſay, *Sir*, to his ridiculous Dotage upon Madam *Maintenon*: Let the Lady have Wit, let her have as much as you pleaſe; ſhe has not been in a Condition to conquer hearts this long time. Were there no more in it, but only that ſhe was *Scarron*'s Wife, 'twere enough to make all the World ſtop their Noſes at her. Beſides, who can be ignorant of her Intrigues, both before, and after her Marriage. Nevertheleſs the King is ſo weak, that he moans to her the ſame Turteliſms of Tenderneſs and Affection, with which he would cocker and feddle a Princeſs, the chaſteſt Woman in the World, or a blooming Beauty. He writes to her tender *Billet douxs*; cringes to her with a thouſand Submiſſions. He lies publickly with her, when his Diſtempers will permit him; and he brought

ſo

ſo under her Girdle, that he can deny her nothing in the World.

It may be ſaid, that Madam de *Maintenon*, and Father *La Chaiſe*, are the abſolute Controulers of his Heart. And becauſe you cannot deny this to be true, becauſe you are a Witneſs of it every day, you muſt allow it to be the height of folly for a Prince that all his Life-time hath uſurp'd the Title of Great, to ſuffer himſelf to be govern'd by a Wench and a Prieſt.

I could make ſome Reflections upon a thing which he did ſo pitiful, eſpecially ſpeaking of *La Chaiſe*, that the *Hollanders* painted him ſometimes ſince, leading *Lewis* the Great by the Noſe. But theſe are Reflections which you are able to make your ſelf. I muſt ſtop at Matters of Fact.

What think you of the Marriages of the Prince of *Conti* laſt deceaſed; and the Duke of *Enguien*, now Prince of *Condè*. Were ever two ſuch Examples known in a Prince pretending to Wit? It was not enough for him to have liv'd for twenty Years together in a double Adultery; to have depriv'd one of his moſt faithful Subjects of his Wife; to have enjoy'd her in the face of the Church and his own Queen, but he muſt conſummate his folly, by mixing the Illuſtrious Blood of the *Bourbon's*, with that of two Strumpets. I confeſs, the two Princeſſes deſcended from thoſe Adulterous *Coritons*, are Vertuous Ladies. But their Original is ſo ignominious, that it had become the Wiſdom of the King, inſtead of matching them to two Princes of the Blood, he had never ſuffer'd them to appear in the World. But Princes like *Lewis* the Great, never conſult their Reaſon.

What

What Judgment is to be made of a Prince, that after he has exercis'd upon his Subjects, all the moſt cruel Perſecutions that can enter into Man's imagination, ſuffers himſelf to be impudently flatter'd: *That he never made uſe of any other means than thoſe of Sweetneſs and indulgence; that he converted the Hereticks without Arms and Force, and far leſs by the Terror of his Edicts, than by his Exemplary Piety; that the ways through which he caus'd them to paſs, were ways ſtrewed with flowers; that he had exterminated Hereſie without noiſe or effuſion of Blood; and that far from ſuffering Torments, they never ſo much as heard them mentioned.*

The Judgment which is to be made upon it is this, that there is no Prince in the World ſo weak and fooliſh as *Lewis the Great.* And it is a favour, Sir, that they ſay no more of him: For what is to be ſaid to an infirm King, to a King that dotes, to a King that is half in his Coffin, but what his Treacherous * Flatterers tell him in reference to the Perſecution of the Proteſtants in his Kingdom.

* *The Biſhop of* Valence, *the Coadjutor* de Roquer, *Father* Maimbourgh *the Biſhop of* Meaux, *and others.*

But this is nothing yet; here is an Accumulation of Folly. He permits his Statues to be erected, and to be ador'd in the Poſture of Proſternation: He permits Holy-days to be dedicated to them; and Harangues to be made them, as if they were ſo many Deities; ſo that upon the Baſis of theſe Idols, you ſhall ſee theſe Inſcriptions in Capital Characters,

TO THE IMMORTAL MAN,

He suffers himself in publick Themes to be advanced above the Angels, and to be lookt upon as a Proof of our Sublime Mysteries; and that the words once said of *Jesus Christ* should be applyed to him; *My Works are for the King; Who is the King?* 'Tis Lewis the Great the *King of Glory.*

Lastly, He suffers himself to be worshipt like a Deity. You saw this in the Fire-works upon the *Greve*, under the Title of the *Temple of Honour*, which were made to solemnize the Erecting the new Statute that was set up in the Court of the Common-Hall of the City. The Inscription which was upon the *Frize*, and upon the four Fronts of the Temple, was after the Jesuitical Manner, and no less Impious.

The City of Paris, *Pious, Loyal, Obedient, Devoted by publick Vows To the Divinity and Majesty of* Lewis *the Great, the Father of his Country As a Monument of their Duty, Dedicate and Consecrate a Temple.*

I could number up a thousand things of this nature; but doubtless here is enough to prove what I have advanc'd, that *Lewis* the Great has three Characters, which justifie his Deposal; you may consider of them, Sir; it concerns the Safety and Welfare of a Kingdom; it concerns the Preservation of a Crown that belongs to your self.

Damis in *Philostratus*, wonders to see an Elephant led by a young Man not above fifteen Years of Age. But I should wonder more, if you should suffer *Lewis* the XIV. to hold the Reins of Government, after all that I have said

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to you. He is a *Phaeton* that ought to be pull'd down from the Chariot of the Sun. He has been a long time unable to Govern. Do you not see, Sir, all the Kingdom in a flame? If you do it not your self, Sir, the People will do it for you; for they are no longer able to endure his Tyranny. If the People will not do it, Forreigners will do it. They have explain'd themselves with their Arms in their hands: they can no longer brook the Madness and Phrensie of a King that Burns, Massacrees, and lays desolate their most beautiful Cities, where-ever his Troops get footing: And if neither his own Subjects, nor his Enemies can do it, the Vengeance of God will do it; for he is a jealous God, and never parts with his Honour to another.

A King who usurps the Regalities of the God of Hosts, is a thousand times more criminal than a Subject that seizes unjustly upon the Crown of any Prince; for there is no proportion between the God of Heaven, and an earthly King; between the Almighty, and a mortal Man. Whereas there is some proportion and agreement between a King and his Subjects. But the King visibly sets himself up in God's Place. He will have Men to be of his Religion; not because his Religion is true, but because it is the Religion which he professes: that is, if he were a *Mahometan*, or the King of *Siam*, he would require the same thing from his Subjects. But what is more detestable, he permits himself to be ador'd as a God, and prostremation at the Feet of his Statues.

But know, Sir, that God is no less just at this day, then when he sent *Nebuchodonozer* to graze among the Beasts of the Field, for suffering his Statue to be ador'd; or when he suffered *He-*

rod to be eaten up of Worms, for hearkning to the impious Acclamations of a hair-brain'd Rabble, that after he had made them a harangue, cry'd, This is the Voice of God, and not of Man. *Alexander* the Great was tickl'd with the Lies of his Flatterers, who told him He was the Son of *Jupiter*, and that Divine Honours ought to be paid him, was poyson'd in the midst of his Triumphs. *Antiochus* the *Illustrious*, who like *Lewis* the XIV. had got a whim in his head, to have all People profess one Religion, commands all People to forsake the Laws of God, and follow his; but his end was sad and tragical. *Nero*, *Caligula*, *Domitius*, and several others that required to be adored as Gods, came to most fatal Exits, answerable to the Lives they had led. And what can you expect less to befal your Father; he that has priz'd himself upon the Impiety of those Emperors, and never took notice of the defacing the Name of JESUS out of the Frontispiece of the Jesuit's Colledge, to put his own in the room of it *.

* *The Colledge of* Clermont, *which is at this day call'd the Colledge of* Lewis the Great.

Therefore, Sir, never tarry till Heaven shall Thunder-strike your Father. Summon an Assembly of the States General; call to your aid the Kings and States against whom he has wag'd such bloody Wars. Humble your self to the Holy See: I dare be answerable for your good Success; nor can you wish for a more favourable Conjuncture. The People pant and thirst after Liberty; all *France* has her Eyes fix'd upon you; the Nobility, the Clergy, the Officers both Military and Civil, all will rise to raise you to the Throne. The Princes and States of *Europe* are

weary

weary of the War. His Holineſs holds you forth his Arms, and looks upon you as a Son that diſclaims the Rebellions of a Father, that has declar'd himſelf an Enemy to the Church: And it will be your fault, if there be not a general Peace.

I would not, Sir, that the King ſhould be dealt with, as *Henry* IV. his Son *Henry*, who bereav'd him of his Crown, reduc'd him to that extream Poverty, that ſometimes he wanted Bread. And ſuch was the beſtial fury of that young Prince, that his Father dying at *Liege*, and the Citizens having buried him in their Cathedral Church, his Son caus'd his Body to be taken up again, and carried to *Spire*, where it lay five years in the Chappel of St. *Afren*, as unworthy of Burial, becauſe he died Excommunicated.

A King is puniſhed ſufficiently by being depos'd; and it is Impiety for a Son, to inſult over his Father's Misfortunes, tho' he drew them upon himſelf Therefore it will be your beſt way to make choice of ſome devout and pleaſant Place, where he may live in plenty, and have that Reſpect paid him by all People, that may convince him it was not your deſire to Reign, but your own and the ſafety of the Kingdom that Importun'd you to depoſe him. I cannot ſet, Sir, before your eyes, a more Noble Example than that of the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*. Let Men ſay what they pleaſe: *James* the II. according to the Laws, deſerv'd to be Abdicated from the Throne. That ſame Prince, blinded by a falſe Zeal, had overturn'd all the Conſtitutions of *England*. Contrary to the Priviledges of the Kingdom he would have ſet up a Religion, to the prejudice of that Eſtabliſh'd by Law.

He had almoſt reduc'd the Nation into Sla-

very. What do the *English* in this Condition? They complain to the Presumptive Heirs of the Crown; and the Prince of *Orange*, as being one of those, Lands with an Army in *England*: upon which the King betakes himself to flight.

The Prince of *Orange* was perswaded, that if a Parliament were call'd, and that the King his Father-in-Law were declar'd to have abdicated the Government, the Princess his Wife would be advanc'd to the Throne. There needed no more for him to do, when he saw he had the Hearts of all the *English*, but to have fallen upon the King's Army. Nevertheless the P. avoided fighting the K's Army, that he might not be obliged to fight against his Wife's Father. He sets forth in his Declaraion, that he came not to Dethrone him, but to restore the Laws of a Kingdom, of which the Princess his Wife was the Presumptive Heir: That he would call a Free Parliament, and leave the Nation to be the Judges of the King's Destiny. The King who knew himself guilty, betakes himself to an inglorious flight, after he had undone in four Days all that he had been four Years a doing, to attain a Despotick Power. The Prince of *Orange* never pursu'd, but when luckily for the Prince of *Orange*, and unfortunately for *James* the II. he was looke upon as gone, the King was stopp'd; but the Prince declares him still to be at liberty, and that it was for him to call a Parliament, and refer it to their Decision, according to the Laws of the Kingdom.

It is not very certain, Sir, whether a Parliament would have been very favourable to *James* the II. or No. But by what several of the Bishops, and a good number of the Lords have since acted, we may guess that they had no intention

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to abdicate him. But however it were, according to the manner wherein the Prince of *Orange* proceeded; if *James* the II. had been abdicated in his favour, as he was afterwards by his Desertion, it is certain that he would have been so generous to that unfortunate Monarch, that it would have much lessen'd his Grief for being depriv'd of his Kingdoms.

Follow then the Example of *William* the III. For whatsoever our *French-men* say, to ingratiate themselves with *James* II. and *Lewis* XIV. who is his Protector; the Prince of *Orange* is a Prince who merits no less Applause, for the Respect which he has shewed to *James* II. than for his Heroick Vertues.

What would you have a Prince have done, when a whole Nation made their Complaint to him? Would you have had him suffer'd a Monarch to Reign, who had enslaved his People, who every day violated the Sacred Laws of the Kingdom, who extended his Arbitrary Power every day, and discountenanc'd the Grandees of his Court that oppos'd his Violences, and who like *Lewis* XIV. suffer'd himself to be govern'd by a Jesuite.

There was a necessity for him to do what he did; nor is there any Prince in the World, who would have done what he did, had he been in his place. But perhaps there would have been but few that would have behaved themselves with that respect to *James* the II. as he did; and who would not have made sure of Three Kingdoms by doing more than he did.

Pardon me, Great Sir, that I have said thus much, in speaking of your Father; 'tis the Concern which I have for his Salvation, and your own Interest, and the love which I have for my Country;

try, that have wreſted theſe Truths from me.

How happy Sir, will you be, and how happy will *France* be, would you but liſten to my Remonſtrances, if you underſtand how to benefit by them. However there would be ſomething wanting to your own, and the happineſs of your Subjects, ſhould you ſtop there: There muſt be ſomething more done, than only the pulling down of *Lewis* the XIV. from his Throne. You muſt expel the Jeſuits, who are the Cauſe of all the Misfortunes that have befallen your Kingdom: For to that Society alone it is, that we muſt impute all thoſe Overturnings that have brought it ſo neer to Ruin. The Jeſuits were the Men that put the King upon theſe unheard of Cruelties which he has exerciſed upon the Diſciples of St. *Auſtin*, and the Nuns of the *Infancy*. The *Jeſuits* were they that inſtigated him againſt *Innocent* the XI. becauſe they ſuſpected him to be a Jeſuite. They were the Men that forc'd him to uſe his faithful Subjects the Proteſtants after a manner ſo barbarous and unworthy of a Chriſtian Prince. They were the Men, who to aggrandize themſelves, forc'd him to declare a War againſt the Emperour and the King of *Spain*, who are both Catholick Princes. In ſhort, they are the Cauſe of all his Violences and Adulteries. For if his Confeſſor, who is a Jeſuit, had ever refuſed to abſolve him at his Confeſſions, would he ever have continued in ſuch a deadly ſin for ſo many years together? But theſe Fathers find out ways to reconcile Heaven and Earth together. 'Tis a piece of their Religion to permit ſometimes the greateſt ſins, *for the greater Glory of God*.

It is the Intereſt of all Princes to exterminate the Jeſuits, for they are the Murderers of Kings. Nor is it the Intereſt of any Kingdom, ſo much

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as of *France*, which to this day declares the Tragical Death of *Henry the Great*. You can never be safe, so long as this Society has any footing in your Kingdom. A Parracide costs them nothing, and they will always find *Ravilliack*'s enough: for they always number them among the Martyrs that Assassinate Princes. But it will signifie nothing, Sir, to expel the Jesuits out of your Kingdom, if you continue a Persecutor like *Lewis* the XIV. It would be no Persecution to banish a Society which is a publick Nuisance; but it would be one of the most horrible things in the World not to give Toleration to the Protestants, who have nothing of Evil in their Morals, but have always stuck close to their Kings: you must therefore renew their Edicts, and heap your Favours upon them in a larger measure than ever *Henry* the IV.

If Christianity did not instruct you that a Prince ought never to persecute his Subjects for their Belief, you are bound to allow them Toleration out of meer Policy. Cast your Eyes upon all Histories of past Ages, and you shall see the terrible Effects that a Restraint in Matters of Religion has produced: It has laid waste most flourishing and wealthy Provinces: It has rendred odious and execrable to Posterity, the Princes that have made use of it: It is the only Cause of Seditions and Insurrections, for the most part fatal to the Persecutors. What is *Spain* at this day, that great and flourishing Kingdom, which was heretofore so wealthy, and well flor'd with Inhabitants? What is it now but sad Solitude, dispeopled by the violance exercised upon Consciences, and the abominable Severities of the Inquisition Tribunal: and not to go farther in search of what you have before your Eyes,

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what is *France* at this day, but a frightful Wilderness, only because they would constrain the Protestants to abandon their Religion, and turn Roman Catholicks.

On the other side, behold the happiness of those States where Liberty of Conscience reigns. There all things are in a flourishing Condition, Arts, Sciences, and Commerce. All People live there in Plenty. You would think them so many swarms of People. Every one lives there at ease, and in so sweet a Tranquility, that there is nothing comparable to the Felicity which those People enjoy, whose Magistrates and Princes abhor Persecution.

I shall conclude, Sir, with what Cardinal *Richlieu* concludes his Politick Will and Testament. You will be happy, you will be rich, you will be potent, if you can but win the Affection of the People.

The ancient Kings your Predecessors, had such a particular value for the hearts of their Subjects, that some of them thought it better to be King of the *French*, than King of *France*.

And indeed this Nation has been always esteemed so passionately loyal to their Princes, that the People have been applauded by celebrated Authors, for being always ready to shed their Blood, and spend their Estates for the Service and Honour of the Kingdom.

Under the Kings of the first and second Race, and of the third also till *Philip the Fair*, the Treasure of Hearts was accompted the only publick Good and Safety of the Kingdom.

Live happy then, Sir, and long may Heaven preserve you for the welfare and safety of *France*. All honest French-men long to live under your illustrious Government, and Solace themselves for the Miseries they sustained under the Reign of Lewis the Fourteenth.

THE END.

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